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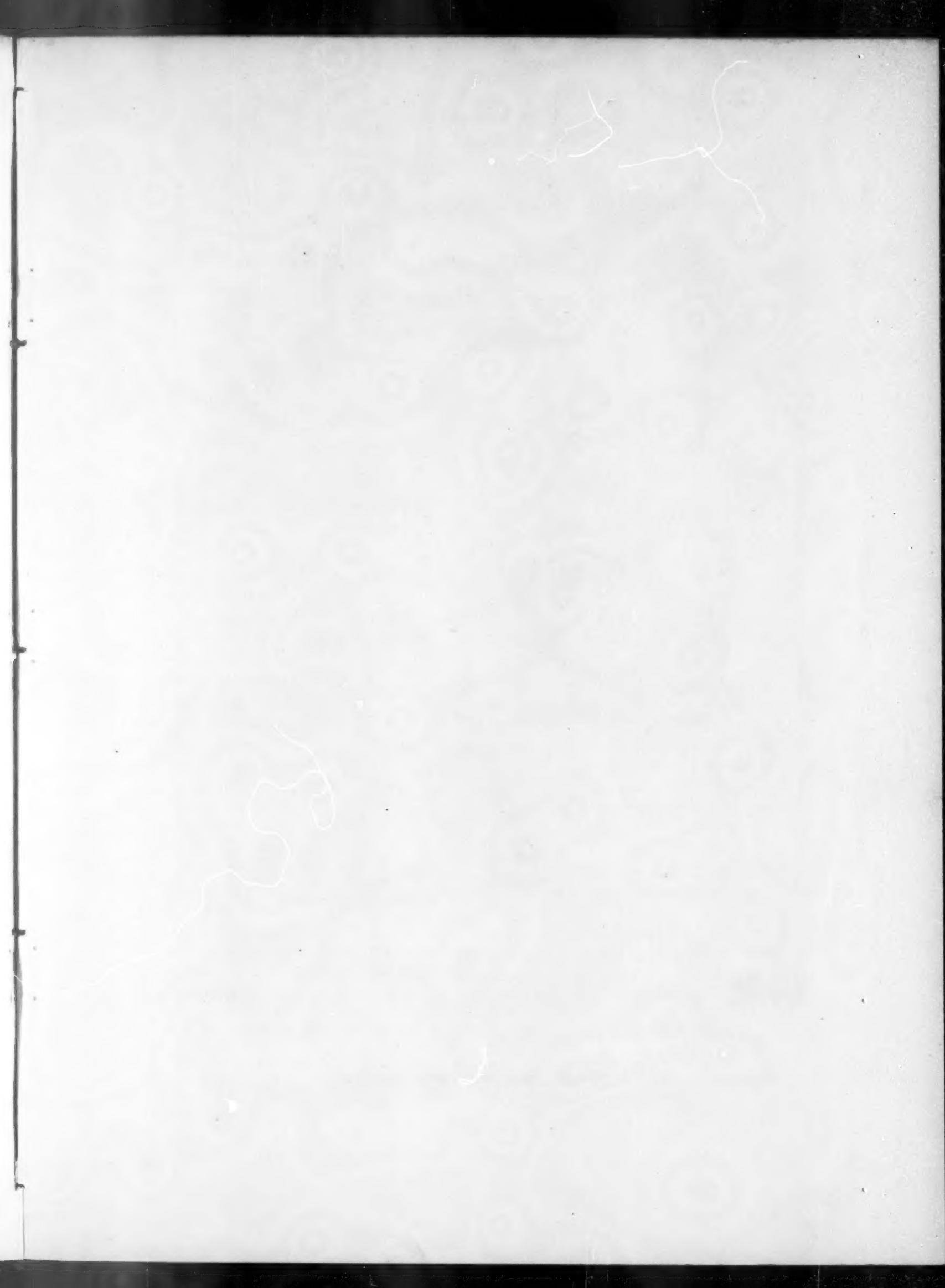




FIG. I - Head of Horse from Sardis, Now Lost

THE HORSE OF SARDIS

By THEODORE LESLIE SHEAR

Hippa, nurse of Bacchus, holy maid,
Frenzied dancer in the mystic shade;
Hear me praying, earthly Mother, Queen.
From Phrygian Ida's sacred mountain screen,
Or from Mt. Tmolus, Lydia's delight,
Come bless our worship with thy holy sight.¹

THIS invocation by the singer of the Orphic hymns, addressed to Hippa, the mare, as the nurse of the infant Dionysus on Mt. Tmolus, reflects an early tradition of the importance of the horse in Lydia. This inference is confirmed by the chroniclers who relate the acts of the ancient semi-mythical kings of the Lydian people, for we are told that Ardys, predecessor of Gyges by two generations, when he returned from exile to be king at Sardis, held a ~~review~~ of the army and found among his troops thirty thousand cavalry.²

Horsemanship is the pride of the Lydian in historical times and there is a proverb that was current among the Greeks which characterizes something typically unworthy with the words: "a Lydian is riding on an ass."³

There is substantial historical record of the efforts of the kings to improve and purify their equine stock, and the method adopted was as unscrupulous as any conscienceless horse-dealer could devise. Alyattes, father of Croesus, begrimed their horses to the people of Colophon and coveted their possession with an irresistible passion. He, therefore, contracted an alliance with the Colophonians and presently invited their horsemen to participate in a brilliant fair at Sardis, offering them a generous reward. The cavalry came to Sardis, but while the men attended the fair the horses were left in charge of grooms outside the walls. Alyattes had no difficulty in murdering his guests and seizing the horses for his own stables.⁴

Polyaenus, the late historian, also directly states that Croesus, the last and greatest king of Sardis, was very proud of his cavalry,⁵ and Herodotus, I, 27, reports the conversation between Croesus and Bias, the wise man of Priene, when the Lydian was planning to build a fleet with which to attack the Greek islanders. "O King," said Bias, "the islanders are enrolling a large body of cavalry with which to make war upon you and Sardis." Croesus, thinking he had spoken the truth, said: "May the Gods put such a thought into the islanders as to attack with horse the sons of the Lydians." Bias answered: "Sir, you appear to wish above all things to see the islanders on horseback on the continent, and not without reason. But what can you imagine the islanders more earnestly desire than to

1. Free translation from *Hymni Orph.*, 48.

2. Nicholaus Damascenus in Müller's *Frag. His. Graec.*, III, p. 382.

3. *Corp. Paroem. Graec.*, II, p. 192.

4. Polyaeus, *Strategemata*, VII, 2, 2.

5. *Ibid.*, VII, 6, 6.

catch the Lydians at sea, that they may revenge on you the cause of the Greeks whom you hold in subjection." Croesus was impressed by this reasoning and abandoned his ship-building.

The British Museum possesses a crude representation, dating from the sixth century B. C., of the Lydian cavalry in the time of Alyattes or Croesus (Fig. 2).⁶ This small slab, 0.43 m. wide by 0.178 m. high, which is made of a cream-colored marble of local provenance, was found in 1882 by George Dennis in one of the tombs of the Lydian kings, which are located in the plain about five miles north of the city of Sardis. This panel is architectural in character and evidently formed part of the frieze that decorated the walls of the dromos or of the sepulchral chamber of the tumulus. Three armed horsemen are shown riding in file, carrying the long spear in the left hand and with the right holding tautly the bridle reins. The figures are not equally finished, the group on the left showing the most advanced state of construction, while on the right the head of the rider has not been entirely cut from the block of stone. It is impossible to tell whether the men wore helmets, but they are surely clad in breastplates, the ends of which are clearly seen above and about the shoulders. The artist has sought to instil greater life into his work by varying the pose of the central horse of the trio, which is portrayed with his left foreleg raised. In spite of the crudity of the work an impression of life and action is derived from a study of the horses; such details as the raised leg, the arched neck, and the elevated tail, give promise of artistic growth to come. Several characteristics of the horse, as here represented, are of interest in our further study and must be clearly emphasized. If a line be drawn through the neck of this horse just beyond the cheek bone, and a rectangle be constructed about the head, it will be discovered that the length of the head is exactly double the width, and that the position of the eye is precisely half way down the head. It must also be noticed that the mane is hogged, that the profile of the nose is distinctly concave, and that the horse is controlled by a halter and nose band without use of a bit.

A great advance in skill in the interpretation of the same type of horse is seen on the recently published terra cotta relief that was discovered at Sardis in the excavations of 1922 (Fig. 3).⁷ The terra cotta is later in date than the marble relief, but the archaeological evidence obtained at the time of excavation indicates an ultimate terminus for it anterior to 546 B. C. The difference in the success of the portrayal of the animal on the two monuments is, without doubt, partly due to the materials with which the respective artists were working.

The artistic promise suggested by the marble and terra cotta reliefs is gloriously fulfilled in a masterpiece of sculpture that was uncovered in the excavations of Sardis on the last day of the campaign of 1914 (Fig. 1).⁸ This is a life-size horse's head of marble, made most naturalistically by a sculptor possessing complete comprehension of the muscles and structural bones of the anatomy of the horse, who had also an idealistic vision of the

6. See Perrot and Chipiez, *Histoire de l'art dans l'antiquité*, V, p. 903. British Museum, Catalogue of Greek Sculpture, I, no. 22, p. 24.

7. *Sardis*, X, *The Architectural Terra-cottas*, frontispiece and fig. 11, pp. 27 ff.

8. *A. J. A.*, XVIII, 1914, p. 430. *Ibid.*, XXVI, 1922,

p. 391. H. C. Butler, *Sardis*, I, *The Excavations*, p. 153. As three marble hands and a foot were lying in the same vicinity it is probable that the original monument was a chariot group. This sculpture was taken from the American house at Sardis between the years 1914 and 1919, and its present location is not known to me.

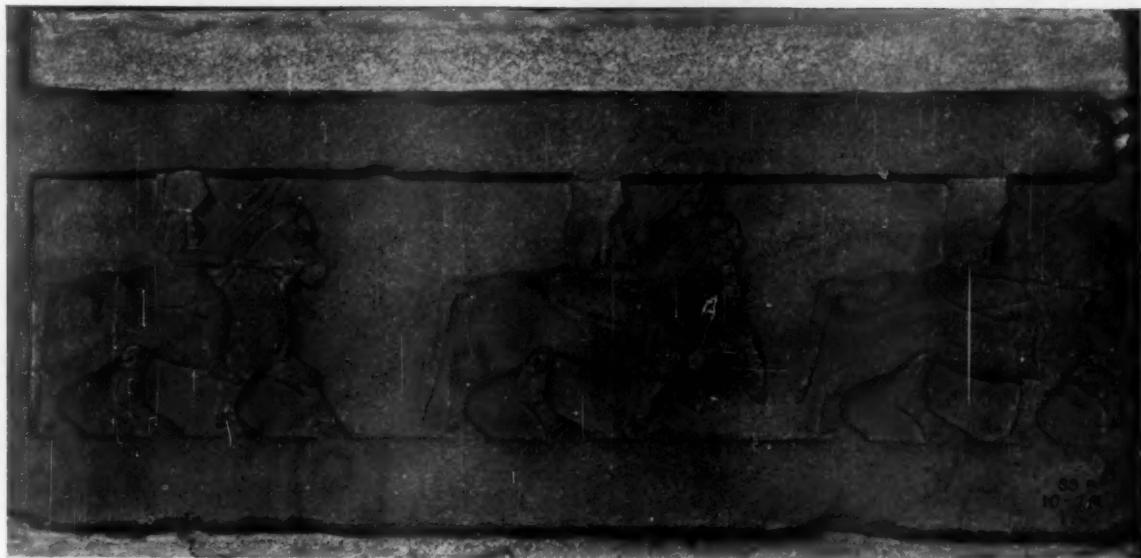


FIG. 2—London, British Museum: *Marble Relief from Tumulus near Sardis*

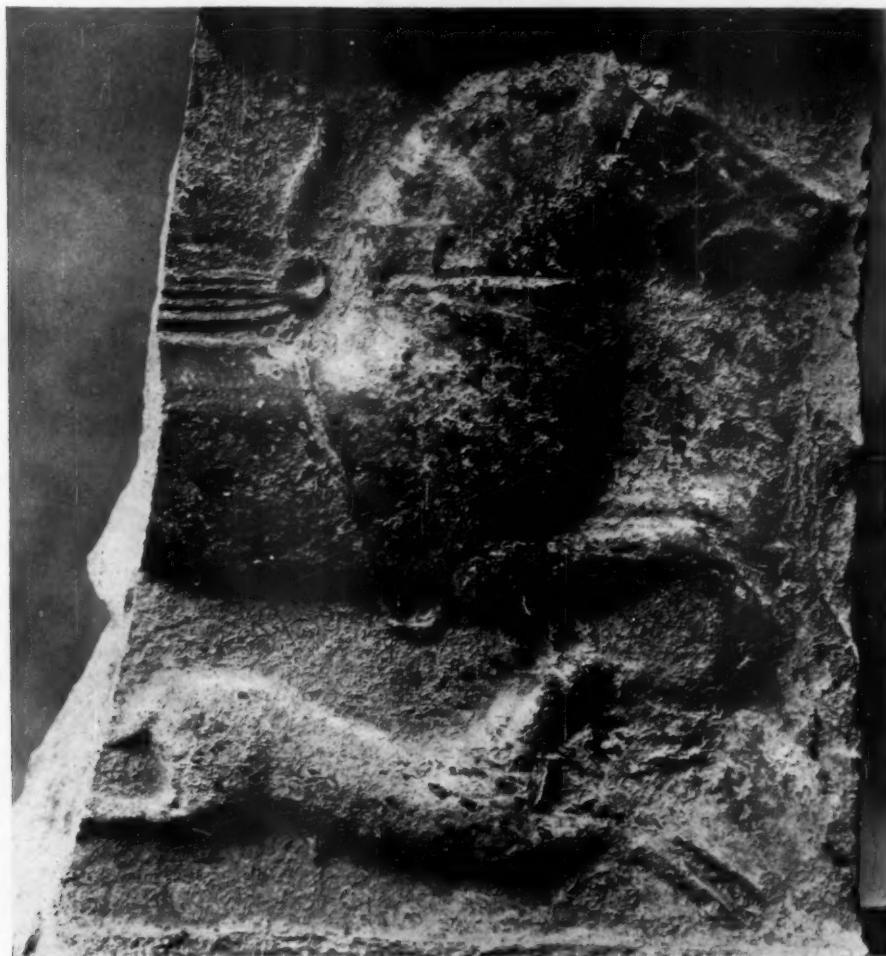


FIG. 3—*Terra Cotta Relief from Sardis, now lost*

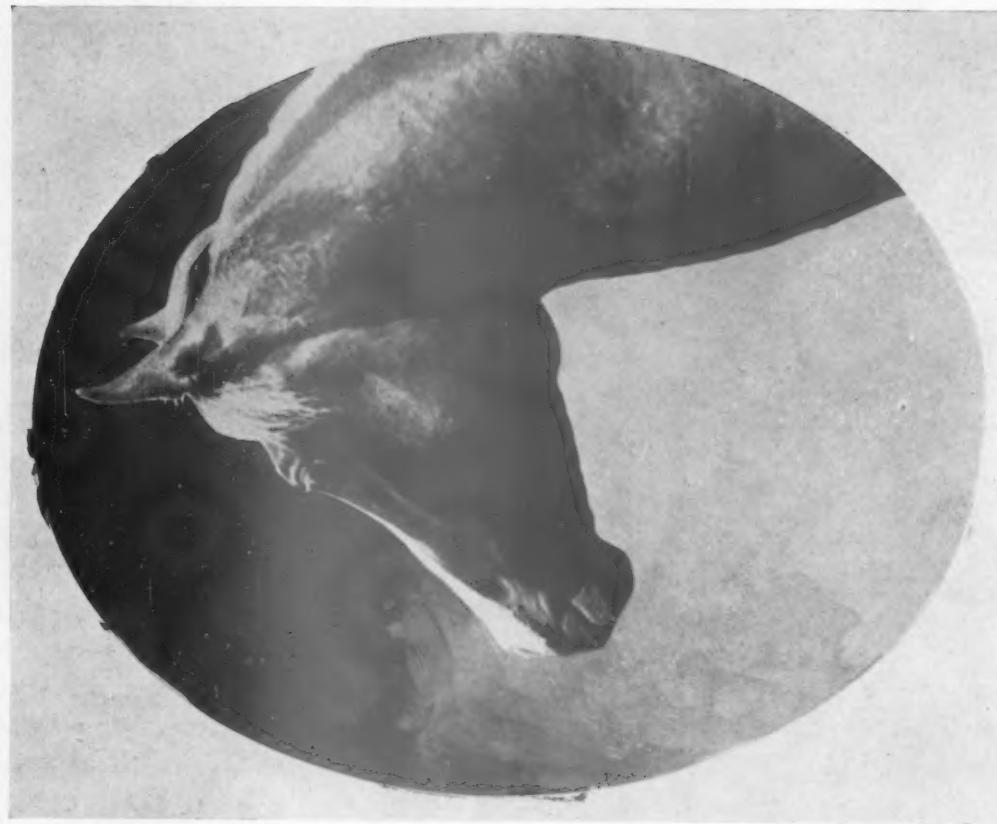


FIG. 5—*Arab Horse Abeleyd*



FIG. 4—*Head of Horse from Sardis, now lost*

perfect horse. The head is gracefully poised on a high arched neck and is carried in a way to suggest exuberance of life and spirit. An excess of wind or motion has tossed the braided forelock to one side and has thrown a couple of strands back on the neck behind the left ear. The muscles of the neck are carefully delineated so as to give an indication of reserve strength and the mane is trimmed short in the style common on representations of ancient horses. The eye is prominent and here again is placed half way down the head measured from the top of the mane to the tip of the nose. The profile of the nose is slightly but distinctly concave and the nostrils are broad, open, and distended.

To an extraordinary degree this splendid head satisfies the specifications enumerated by Xenophon in his essay on horsemanship as requisite for the perfection of the ideal horse. Xenophon says⁹ that "the neck should not be set on dropping forward from the chest, like the boar's, but like that of a game-cock rather, it should shoot upwards to the crest . . .; while the head should be bony and the jawbone small. . . . A prominent rather than a sunken eye is suggestive of alertness, and a horse of this type will have a wider range of vision. And so of the nostrils: a wide-dilated nostril is at once better than a contracted one for respiration, and gives the animal a fiercer aspect" (Fig. 6). Referring these words to our sculpture it is apparent that the carriage of the head, the emphasis laid on its bony structure, the prominence of the eye, and the dilation of the nostrils are distinguishing qualities of our horse that wholly accord with Xenophon's requirements.

The verity achieved in the treatment of the masseter and the zygomatic muscles may be most satisfactorily observed by studying the marble head by the side of a photograph of the head of a living animal (Figs. 4 and 5). The horse shown in Fig. 5 is the pure blood Arab, Abeleyd, bred by Mr. W. R. Brown in his Maynesboro Arabian stud at Berlin, New Hampshire, and beside this beautiful specimen of horseflesh our marble head, in the nobility of its conception and in the accuracy of its execution, bears lofty tribute to the artistic skill of the unknown sculptor who made it. The muscles of the living horse are carefully reproduced in the sculpture, which also emphasizes the structural bones that are clearly suggested beneath the skin of the Arab. With life-like accuracy, too, are intimated the wrinkles in the flesh beneath the chin and about the mouth. Other similarities about these two heads that should be noted briefly are the triangular shape of the head, the location and prominence of the eye, the concave profile of the face, the slender width of the nose, the distention of the nostrils and the smallness of the lower jaw. As the photograph of the marble reproduced in Fig. 4 shows clearly the parts of the bridle on the left side, that harness may here be conveniently described. The thongs are represented in low relief on the marble surface, but when visualized as originally painted they will be more distinctly in evidence. The shape is strong and sensible, with the band encircling the forehead and chin supported by a strap over the head passing behind the ears. This is attached to the muzzle piece by thongs on each side from the cheek to the jaw, and by a strap directly in front extending from the middle of the forehead to the muzzle band that is just above the nostrils. The muzzle band passes around the nose above the mouth and furnishes the possibility of firmly controlling the horse without recourse to a bit. This simple and practical bridle is ornamented by a metal rosette in the middle of the forehead, and by metal plaques on each side below the ear, all imitated in low marble relief.

9. I, 8. Translation by H. G. Dakyns.

Emphasis has so far been laid upon detailed characteristics of our head and on the structure of the bridle because only through such details can we hope to secure light on the historical, artistic, and chronological affiliations of the sculpture. When, in pursuit of Croesus, Cyrus and the Persians advanced to lay siege to Sardis about 546 B. C., suddenly the space in front of the city was filled with serpents which were eagerly devoured by the horses grazing in the neighborhood. Disturbed by this portent Croesus sent for interpretation of the prodigy to the Telmessian soothsayers, who declared that it presaged invasion and conquest by a foreign host; for, said they, "the snake is a child of the land, but the horse is an enemy and a stranger."¹⁰ Here is clear evidence that although the Lydians bred horses at a very early period they were perfectly aware that the horse was not indigenous to their land. Consequently the question at once arises, whence came the horse to Lydia, with the corollary question succeeding, what is the relation of our horse to its antecedents and to its successors?

Now it is a well-known historical fact that prior to the predominance of the Lydian Empire in Asia Minor that land was ruled, perhaps throughout the second millennium B. C., by a great and powerful people, whose capital was at Boghaz Keui in Cappadocia, and whom we know as the Hittites. Many monuments of the Hittites have been uncovered in the excavations of recent years, and much information has been acquired as to the appearance and characteristics of this people. Most noteworthy for our study is the fact that the Hittites appear early in the second millennium as adepts in horsemanship, in riding as well as in driving the chariot. Indeed, among the earliest representations of the horse that we have, according to Eduard Meyer antedating 2000 B. C., is a terra cotta head in Berlin that was found at Kültepe near Caesarea in Cappadocia (Fig. 7).¹¹ This primitive head shows some obviously distinguishing characteristics. The mane is cut short, the eye is placed half way down the head, and the nose is small and narrow. The bridle is simply made of thongs about the forehead and nose, which are fastened by bands along the cheeks, with the usual strap behind the ears. The photograph does not show clearly if there is a strap down the front of the face, but there is certainly a large metal plaque in the middle of the forehead, and there is no evidence of the presence of a bit.

From early in the second millennium B. C. is the representation of a Hittite cavalryman on a sculptured relief at Senjirli (Fig. 9).¹² The stone is badly weathered but still shows the warrior riding to the right, holding a small bow in the right hand and with the left raising aloft by the back hair the severed head of an enemy. The horse has a well arched neck with a short cropped mane. The head is noticeably triangular in shape, and a large prominent eye is set down well towards its middle. The muzzle is extremely narrow, and the tail is carried high. The nature of the bridle cannot be determined because of the poor preservation of the stone.

The same type of horse occurs on later Hittite monuments, as may be seen on the relief of the lion hunt from Malatia, now in the Ottoman Museum in Constantinople, which dates from the latter part of the second millennium (Fig. 10).¹³ Every characteristic

10. Herodotus, I, 78.

11. Eduard Meyer, *Reich und Kultur der Chetiter*, p. 55, fig. 45. Our Fig. 5 is reproduced from this illustration.

12. F. von Luschan, *Ausgrabungen in Sendschirli*, III, pl. XXXV.

13. E. Meyer, *op. cit.*, p. 83, pl. VI. The bibliography of the reliefs from Malatia is given by John Garstang, *The Land of the Hittites*, p. 399.



FIG. 6 - Head of Horse from Sardis, Now Lost



trait of the horse that has already been emphasized is here plainly portrayed, including the arched neck, the cropped mane, the prominence and location of the eye, the concave profile of the nose, and the carriage of the tail. That these characteristics are not accidental but represent an attempt to depict a particular breed of horse will be evident if this relief from Malatia is compared with a small relief of a cavalryman, dating from the eighth century B. C., found in Sparta, which Poulsen unwarrantably associates with the Hittite sculpture (Fig. 8).¹⁴ A glance reveals that every quality of the horse that persistently recurs on Hittite sculpture is here conspicuously absent. The head of the Spartan horse is misshapen, the eye is placed high, the mane is long, and the tail is attached very low. The horse from Sparta undoubtedly represents a breed of early Greek horses whose stock had not been improved by any admixture of eastern blood. It is possible that this example may be a crude representation of an extreme type, but it nevertheless differs in all essentials from the Ionian horses that appear on the François vase in Florence,¹⁵ and on other early vases of Ionian style, and it is interesting to observe that where the Ionian strain of art predominates the eastern type of horse prevails. According to literary tradition the Etruscans patterned their cavalry after the Corinthians,¹⁶ who in the time of the tyrants were in close contact both commercially and artistically with Ionia and Lydia. Moreover, a well supported legend attributes to the Lydians the early colonization of Etruria. It is, therefore, logical to find the eastern type of horse admirably represented on the Etruscan tomb paintings. A characteristic example, selected from many sepulchral scenes in which horses appear, which is illustrated in Fig. 12, is on the left wall of the Tomba del Barone at Corneto-Tarquinii, which is dated about 550-500 B. C.¹⁷ The Spartan horse appears heavy, unformed, stupid, and lifeless beside these spirited blooded animals, which, though of very different date, are distinctly similar in essential characteristics to the horses seen on the Hittite reliefs from Malatia, of the lion hunt (Fig. 10) and of the stag hunt (Fig. 11).

Thus a study of the distinctive qualities of differentiation of breed indicates that the horse on the Hittite monuments is the direct ancestor of the Lydian horse that appears on the small marble relief from Bin Tepe, and on the terra cotta from the Sardis necropolis, which, in its turn, is the immediate predecessor in age, type, and style of the life-size marble head from the excavations near the temple of Artemis. Obviously the evidence furnished by the Hittite discoveries nullifies Ridgeway's statement that "there is not the slightest evidence that they (the Hittites) any more than Abraham possessed a single horse," and makes void his entire argument for the origin of the thoroughbred horse.¹⁸

We learn, in fact, from the tablets of Boghaz Keui that the Hittites not only bred horses but that they even wrote a treatise on horse breeding.¹⁹ And the Hittite king Hattusil III, who lived about 1295 B. C., is emphatic in his request to Kadashmanturgu, king of Babylon, to send him "stallions, fine young animals."²⁰

14. *Der Orient und die fröhliche Kunst*, p. 115, fig. 122. British School Annual, XIII, 1906-7, p. 78, fig. 17a.

15. Furtwängler-Reichhold, *Griechische Vasenmalerei*, I, pls. 1 and 2.

16. P. N. Ure, *The Origin of Tyranny*, p. 240, who refers to Cicero, *De Rep.*, II, 20.

17. F. Poulsen, *Etruscan Tomb Paintings*, p. 20, fig. 14. F. Weege, *Etruscan Malerei*, p. 108.

18. *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 234.

19. J. Garstang, *Harmsworth's Universal History of the World*, p. 721.

20. *Amer. Jour. of Sem. Lang.*, XXXVII, 1921, p. 205.

Now whatever view be held of the origin of the Hittites and of their racial affiliations it is matter of historical record that in the second millennium B. C. they swarmed over all of Asia Minor, controlled at times more or less of Babylonia and Assyria, and went even as far south as Egypt.²¹ There also seems to be no doubt that they cultivated and developed the breed of horse which has been known as the Arab since the beginning of our era at least. As I have tried to prove the horse at Sardis a racial descendant of the Hittite breed it will be of interest to apply to it some details of the description of the modern Arab as given by Major Upton, the expert investigator of the Arabs. "The head is very beautiful," says Upton,²² "not only pleasing to the eye in its outline, but beautiful from its grand development of the sensorial organ, and the delicacy of such parts as are more subservient. It is not particularly small or short in its whole length, but it is large above the eyes, small and short from the eyes to the muzzle. The centre of the eye more nearly divides the length of the head into equal parts than is observable in other horses; from the top of the head to the centre of the eye will often measure as much as from the centre of the eye to just above the upper edge of the nostril. The head of the horse, of the Anazar especially, tapers very much from the eyes to the muzzle, and the lower jaw does so equally to the under lip, and if these lines were prolonged they would meet or cut each other at a short distance only beyond the tip of the nose. The nostril, which is peculiarly long, runs upwards towards the face, and is also set up outwards from the nose. . . . The neck is of moderate length, and is of a graceful curve or gentle arch from the poll to the withers. It is a strong, light and muscular neck, with the splenous muscle well developed." When it is remembered that many Arabian tribes are in the desert with many modifications of breed, and that Upton is describing his ideal of the perfect Arab horse, it is remarkable that the description applies so admirably to the head found at Sardis.

Historically, then, the Lydian sculpture is a direct development from the Hittite works that preceded it, both in the type of animal represented and in the technique and the details of its execution. It, moreover, represents a breed of horses that was cultivated by the Hittites in the second millennium B. C. and that has been bred true to type in the east for thousands of years since, so that the head from Sardis, compared with an Arab of today, shows all the distinctive racial qualities that the most exacting breeder could demand (Figs. 13, 14).

It is well known that the Lydians, during their hegemony of Asia Minor, were in constant intercourse with the Ionian cities which they held in subjection, as well as with the Greek cities in Greece itself, and literary tradition tells us that the Lydian court was frequented by the Greek philosophers and other lights of literature. We are not informed as to what extent Alyattes and Croesus employed Ionian artists to make their numerous dedications and offerings, but the names of at least two such artists are incidentally mentioned as working for the Lydians, Glaukos the Chian and Theodoros of Samos,²³ and without doubt many other Greek artists were in the service of the wealthy kings of Sardis. It is, therefore, no cause for surprise that the Ionian sculptured horses found on the Acropolis

21. For the appearance of the horse on Babylonian monuments see W. H. Ward, *Seal Cylinders of Western Asia*, p. 418, and Jastrow, *The Civilization of Babylonia and Assyria*, p. 155.

22. *Gleanings from the Desert of Arabia*, p. 330. Cf. Ridgeway, *op. cit.*, p. 271.

23. J. Overbeck, *Die antiken Schriftquellen*, nos. 263, 269, 270, 284.



FIG. 7—Berlin, Old Museum: Terra Cotta Head of a Horse from Kültepe



FIG. 8—Sparta Museum: Relief on Ivory Plaque



FIG. 9—Senjirli: Relief of Hittite Cavalryman



FIGS. 10, 11—Constantinople, Ottoman Museum: Reliefs from Malatia



FIG. 12—Corneto-Tarquinii, Tomba del Barone: Painting on Left Wall



FIG. 14—*Arab Horse Abu Seyd*



FIG. 13—*Head of Horse from Sardis, now lost*



FIG. 15—Athens, National Museum: Detail of Relief from Themistoclean Wall



FIG. 16—Athens, Parthenon: Detail of West Frieze

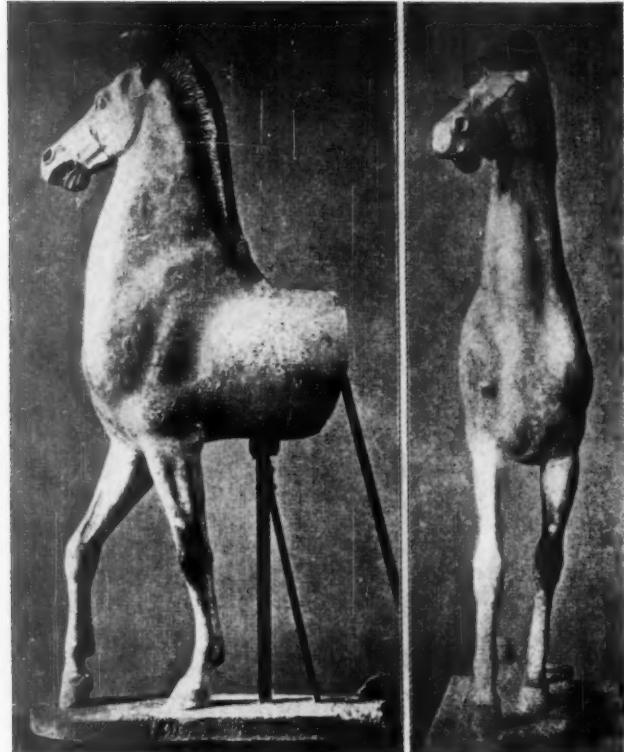


FIG. 17—Athens, Acropolis Museum: Fragment of Horse of Ionian Workmanship



FIG. 18—London, British Museum: Head of Horse from East Gable of Parthenon



FIG. 19—*Head of Horse from Sardis,
now lost*



FIG. 20—*London, British Museum:
Head of Horse from Tarentum*



FIG. 21—*New York, Metropolitan Museum:
Relief of Horse and Rider*



FIG. 22—*Athens, Acropolis Museum:
Stele with Relief of Horse*

of Athens, dating from the pre-Persian period, like the painted Ionian horses from Greece and Etruria, reveal a type of horse that is very different from the breed represented by the example at Sparta. Moreover, it is not accidental that the horse in the Acropolis collection, which surpasses all others in its life-like vigor and its haughty carriage, which breathes fire and energy with tossing head and distended nostrils, representing, according to Dickins, the most characteristic example of the delicacy and vivacity of pre-Persian Attic sculpture, is dated between Marathon and Thermopylae (Fig. 17).²⁴ And it is significant that one of the horsemen in this Acropolis group is clothed in brightly colored Persian trousers, a fact that suggests the conclusion, advocated by Studniczka, that here is actually represented a Persian and his horse, dedicated in honor of the victory at Marathon.²⁵ The same type of horse occurs, also, on one of the bases found in a wall in Athens in 1922, which for stylistic reasons is dated by Casson between 510 and 490 B. C., and preferably towards the end of that period (Fig. 15).²⁶

It is certain that the Athenians were greatly impressed by the efficiency of the eastern horsemen in the Persian armies,²⁷ and thereafter took effective measures to increase and improve their own cavalry. This attention to the horse in the post-Persian period is reflected in works and records, and three leading sculptors of the time are noted for their statues of horses. These sculptors are Ageladas of Argos, Onatas of Aegina, and especially Kalamis, who is heralded through the ages, in verse and in prose, as unsurpassed in representations of horses.²⁸ Now Kalamis is the immediate predecessor at Athens of Phidias, and the archaic horse on the Acropolis is the forerunner of the superb animals that appear in the Panathenaic procession on the frieze of the Parthenon (Fig. 16). Here is evidence that artistic conception has progressed since the days of Marathon, that artistic expression, crystallized in a master mind, has reached its maximum of beauty and of truth, but the fact remains that the same type of horse served as model for both sculptures. The resemblance will be readily recognized in such points as the cropped mane, the small ears, the prominent eye placed halfway down the head, the concave nose, the dilated nostrils, the thick jowl, the small under jaw, and the light but powerful neck. This type of horse is shown in masterly execution in the east pediment of the Parthenon, Selene's horse (Fig. 18). With this head, which is admired by Goethe as the artistic creation of the ideal horse, it is venturesome to compare another work. This is especially true when it is remembered that the pedimental sculpture is a colossus that was placed about fifty feet above the ground. It is also quite apparent that the photographs of the Sardis head, the only ones taken before its disappearance, are far from showing the sculpture to its best advantage, as many of the finer details of workmanship are lost in the black shadows resulting from the bright sunshine. However, I persist in the comparison in order to emphasize the fact that both heads portray the same breed of horse, and to illustrate

24. H. Schrader, *Archaische Marmor-Skulpturen im Akropolis-Museum zu Athen*, p. 85, fig. 75. From this figure, Fig. 13 is reproduced. G. Dickins, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, I, p. 263.

25. *Arch. Jahrbuch*, VI, 1891, pp. 239 ff. But in opposition to this view see Winter, *ibid.*, VIII, 1893, pp. 135 ff.

26. *J. H. S.*, XLV, 1925, pp. 177 f.

27. Apparently the Persians made no great use of cavalry at Marathon, but in the army of the second invasion Herodotus (VII, 87) gives their number as 80,000.

28. The beautiful bronze statuette of a horse in the Metropolitan Museum of Art dates from this period and may reflect the spirit of Kalamis, see G. M. A. Richter, *Handbook of the Classical Collection*, 5th ed., 1927, p. 133, fig. 89.

how each artist has secured the maximum artistic effect, by a minimum of apparent effort. Each head exhibits supreme dignity and poise coupled with life and verity to nature. Subtlety of effect is achieved with simplicity of line and no exaggeration of any part is necessary for the completion of the perfect result.

The sculptures of the Parthenon fixed in Greek sculpture for a long period the type of the representation of the horse, but later artists soon failed to observe the restraint practiced by their elders, and imitations of Phidian horses almost always reveal factitious effects sought by the over-emphasis of unessential details. A figure of a horse of unusual beauty is seen on a marble relief of the fourth century in the Metropolitan Museum of Art in New York (Fig. 21).²⁹ The relationship of this horse to those on the Parthenon frieze is apparent both in type and in pose, but here already has begun exaggeration of muscles and veins and wrinkles in the skin, and there is an obvious attempt to humanize the expression of the eye. A further step in this progress of decadence is to be observed in the case of a head of the fourth century found at Tarentum and now in the British Museum (Fig. 20),³⁰ and in the representation of a horse in relief on the Acropolis of Athens, that is dated by its dedicatory inscription in 373-372 B. C. (Fig. 22).³¹

But with these later works the sculpture from Sardis has clearly no affiliation (Fig. 19). In its dignity and simplicity of conception and execution it approaches the masterpieces of Phidias in Athens, but it reveals no evidence of having been made after them or in imitation of them. Without losing sight of possible currents of artistic development in Lydia during its Persian occupation it seems to me to be justifiable to date our head not later than the third quarter of the fifth century B. C. This beautiful sculpture from Sardis, then, proves that in Lydia of the fifth century existed the breed of horse that was brought there by the Hittites from the east about fifteen centuries earlier. This same type went with the Lydians and the Persians to Greece, where it was immortalized by Phidias on the Parthenon and thus became for all time the model of the perfect horse.

29. *Ibid.*, p. 273, fig. 193.

30. *J. H. S.*, III, 1882, p. 234, pl. XXIV.

31. S. Casson, *Catalogue of the Acropolis Museum*, II, p. 255.

THE ART OF SCENOGRAPHY

By CORRADO RICCI

SCENOGRAPHY, thanks to its very nature, is capable of the freest range of fancy. Its canvas and cardboard, its curtains and frippery do not, it is true, have the impalpable and aërial character of words and of music, yet they are so little burdened with material weight that they follow with ready wing the flights of fantasy and the vagaries of dreams. Scenery can evoke the vision of magic isles, such as Homer's Ogygia and Ariosto's Alcina; it can create for the most imaginative poets enchanted castles and realms beyond the grave, Elysian fields and the depths of the sea, Armida's garden and the lake of Fata Morgana, the fountain of the fairies and the Palace of Great Desire.

Yet this marvelous art, which has proved such a source of pleasure throughout the ages, is perhaps the least considered of the arts. While even on the so-called minor arts magnificently illustrated books are being published continually, up to the present very little has been written on the old and glorious tradition of scenography.

In the course of half a century art periodicals have published an abundance of textiles, pottery, wrought iron, wood-carvings, stuccoes, jewelry, even kitchen utensils and peasants' chairs and kneading-troughs, without, however, reproducing a single *décor*.

That more is heard of recent theories and reforms is due to the anxiety of innovators to break down the diffidence of the public by showing that theater decoration in order to conform to the dramatic intention, and even to superpose itself on and dominate the latter, must above all forsake reality and draw its life from symbolism or psychological chromatism (the psychological use of colors). Let no one take alarm at these words. Their meaning will be made clear later on. Let us see for the present the development of decorative scenery.

Of course this is not the place to indulge in minutiae. The clearest definitions have ever been drawn from broad essential traits; and, especially in our subject, a detailed analysis would prove never ending. We begin by a brief review of stagecraft in antiquity.

ANCIENT SCENOGRAPHY

The first Greek stage was nothing but a platform more wide than deep and raised about two meters above the level occupied by the audience; the background was nothing but a canvas coming forward at the sides and above, forming a kind of canopy. On the platform was placed only the object essential to the action. In this manner Aeschylus' first four tragedies were produced: the whole original setting was an altar for the *Suppliants*, a tomb for the *Persians*, an altar perhaps between two towers for the *Seven against Thebes*, and a mountain top for *Prometheus*. Nor did these objects consist mostly of painted canvas like modern properties; they sincerely imitated reality and were made out of solid materials, chiefly wood. The back drop was in no way connected with these objects, but ten years after the performance of those first tragedies, and, precisely, for the great Orestes

trilogy in 458 B. C., Aeschylus decided that stage and properties should become a unity. We learn from Vitruvius that Agatharcus of Samos designed his scenery, but Aristotele states that the first painted scenery was used for Sophocles' tragedies. It is possible that these data are not contradictory. Agatharcus of Samos may have painted scenery for both writers, seeing that Sophocles was forty when Aeschylus died.

One wonders what these scenes looked like, for instance, the palaces for *Agamemnon* and the *Choëphoroe* and the temple for the *Eumenides*. Vitruvius writes that they were perspectives painted upon a flat surface and that later Agatharcus wrote upon the laws of perspective and induced both Democritus and Anaxagoras to do the same. Vitruvius was certainly mistaken when he imagined the scenery and perspective of four centuries before his time resembled the mural paintings of the early Empire when artists were reproducing the frescoes of the House of Livia in Rome and those of the so-called second style in Pompeii. What we now know about ancient Greek painting does not permit us to believe that Anaxagoras painted real perspectives, though we are ready to admit that he did more than color the isolated objects or properties. He probably built and painted at the back of the stage a complete wooden architecture.

Soon thereafter the first permanent setting was built in limestone or sandstone or marble, and it represented the façade of a palace with niches and statues, columns, cornices, tympani, windows, and doors. There were three doors: the middle and largest one was reserved, it is said, for the hero of the play or for kings and princes, the other two were for less distinguished characters. On this matter there is great difference of opinion among archaeologists, but it is interesting to compare what Daniello Bartoli wrote in his book on China about the royal palaces in Peking: "In prima uno spazioso cortile . . . Colà in faccia d'esso è il muro con tre porte, per la cui più notabile ch'è nel mezzo non passano altro che Maestri, or sian tuttavia in ufficio o stativi per l'addietro. Delle due al suo lato, la degna è a destra, aperta solo a' professori di lettere: la sinistra è la vulgare e riceve i soldati e il rimanente del popolo."

Let us return to the Greek theater. Two large side wings at either extremity of the semicircle formed by the auditorium were used by the actors and direction and were called hospices. Long after the times of Aeschylus and Sophocles, between the hospices and the permanent scene (Vitruvius tells us) were put up the *periacti*. These were machines in the shape of huge prisms and each bore three scenes of which the one needed for the play would be turned toward the public. The tragic scene represented a palace and a temple, the comic scene a private house, and the satirical one was either a marine or rustic view with huts, hedges, trees, rocks, and caverns.

Julius Pollux tells us that for certain performances a military tent was used but this belonged to the properties rather than to the scenery, and doubtless the permanent scene would often be more or less occupied with properties.

Other machines were used, to produce the sound of thunder, for instance, but we cannot discuss them here. We shall just mention the one which was intended to be used as a platform by the gods and which was placed above the central building. It was needed especially in Euripides' plays. In the most intricate moments of the tragedy a god would appear from on high to resolve the situation to everyone's satisfaction. This gave rise to a Greek saying corresponding to the Latin "*Deus ex machina*."

Just a few words on the Roman theater: It began to be a really permanent structure only toward the end of the Republic. At first the audience crowded around a wooden platform; later temporary wooden theaters were built, and Pompey, in the year 55 B. C., erected the first permanent building.

The Roman theater follows the Greek model, though not in every detail. The space which we now call the orchestra and in which the Greeks placed the chorus was used by the Romans (who had no chorus) for the more important spectators. The scene changed less than the Greek one. It has been maintained that the system of lowering the curtain into a furrow in the ground instead of raising it to open the scene was introduced by the Romans; but there are those who think that this was a Greek custom, for in recent studies of the theater in Syracuse such a furrow was discovered in the same position.

In the fifth century A. D. gladiators were still fighting in the amphitheaters. Prudentius tells of a monk who, barefoot, in humble clothing, and emaciated from prayer and fasting, entered the Colosseum, climbed over the podium, and sprang into the arena to separate the gladiators by gesture and entreaty. These, however, turned upon him while the audience broke out in angry cries. The monk was killed by those he wanted to save; but, moved by his death, the Emperor Honorius issued a law against the barbarous games. The humble brother, who had come from the East and was named Telemacus, was later sanctified.

When the crowds lost their thirst for cruelty the love for dramatic productions began to weaken. The deserted theaters, slowly crumbling, were used as foundations for the fortified dwellings of overbearing, quarrelsome families, such as the Orsini, at the theaters of Marcellus and Pompey, and the Cenci, at that of Balbus. The fate of Italy seemed to parallel that of the theaters.

There followed a period of neglect, of silence, of slumber, from which new strength was to be born for the people of Italy. And behold within the churches on improvised boards or on the scaffoldings of the crypts sacred plays were enacted with crude, rough scenery of an exclusively sacred character. But religious fervor grew apace; the Crusades and the Communes reawakened pristine energies; improvised platforms were put up in the squares and the market places. Interest in the theater burst forth again, the improvised settings became more varied; they had formerly been limited to a palace, a temple, or some houses, but now there were to be seen the Inferno, Purgatory, and Paradise; the Hut of Nazareth, the Stable of Bethlehem, and the Hill of Golgotha. At the sides of the scene, where in old times the hospices stood, two small houses were built from which the actors emerged. In Italy these were called *luoghi deputati*. Is it true that here for the first time that linear perspective was applied from which the great seventeenth century reform was to be born? We greatly doubt it.

The study of perspective was the dominating interest of the quattrocento. It was the passion of Brunelleschi, Leon Battista Alberti, and Bramante among the architects; of Paolo Uccello, Piero della Francesca, Melozzo da Forlì, and Mantegna among the painters; of Ghiberti and Donatello among the sculptors. This striving of theirs was linked with the love and study of classical buildings. Vasari, speaking of Brunelleschi, says, "Attese molto alla prospettiva allora molto in male uso per molte falsità che vi si facevano; nella quale perse molto tempo per fino ch' egli trovò da sè un modo che ella potesse venir perfetta che fu il levarla

con la pianta e profilo e per via della intersegazione, cosa veramente ingegnosissima ed utile all'arte del disegno." Vasari himself gives Paolo Uccello the same credit, but this only points to the fact that this wonderful endeavor was the fruit of a harmonious artistic maturity.

For the greater part of the fifteenth century the theater was not very different from the mediaeval one. Performances took place on platforms in market places, court-yards, gardens, halls, as in the Middle Ages they had been held in churches and sanctuaries. The wonderful laws of perspective, recently discovered and forthwith applied to painting and sculpture, did not immediately affect the theater. The humanists themselves, whose desire it was to bring everything up to the classical standard, were slow in reviving the ancient theater. Public spectacles still consisted in great pageants or tournaments and games, renewed and extravagantly enriched in costume and decoration by the art of the Renaissance, yet still essentially in mediaeval taste.

Only toward the end of the fifteenth century and at the beginning of the sixteenth did things begin to change. In the places where spectacles were held ranges of seats, although temporary and of wood, were again built, sometimes in a semi-circle. An architectural frame, forming the proscenium, enclosed the scene and a curtain was hung across it. At the same time, writers again took up classical comedies and tragedies. And finally, to the amazement of the public, the truly magnificent perspective effects reached by that time were applied, partly in painting, partly in relief, to the settings.

Celebrated artists worked in theatrical decoration. In October, 1514, Leo X ordered a performance at the Vatican of Cardinal Bibbiena's *Calandra* in honor of Isabella d'Este. Baldassare Peruzzi designed for the occasion two such beautiful pieces of scenery that, according to Vasari, "*Apersero la via a coloro che ne hanno poi fatto a' tempi nostri.*" And this cannot surprise those who remember Peruzzi's mural paintings in the Farnesina.

Five years afterwards in Castel S. Angelo Raphael designed the settings for Ariosto's *Suppositi*. A Ferrarese envoy wrote to his duke about it as follows: "*Da un lato della sala era la scena, et dall'altro era loco facto di gradi dal cielo della sala sino quasi in terra, dove era la sedia del Pontefice. . . . Seduto il popolo, che poteva essere in numero di duemila uomini, sonandosi li pifari si lassò cascar la tela.*" This was an imitation of the ancient custom of disclosing the scene by lowering the curtain instead of raising it. The pope, the agent continues, admired the scene "*che era molto bella de mano de Rafaele et rappresentavasi bene, per mia fè, Ferara de prospettive, che molto furono laudate.*"

A third artist should now be remembered, Sebastiano Serlio from Bologna. His was the first complete set of theories on theatrical architecture, comprising environment, scenery, transformations, and lighting.

Unfortunately, of what these great men did for the theater, only the historical record remains, together with a few sketches and engravings, for in those times all that pertained to the theater was temporary and unsubstantial. No one dreamt of theaters as solidly built as in antiquity even when Vitruvius and the classical type began to be followed and the construction was intended to be durable. The delightful Teatro Olympico erected in Vicenza in the last quarter of the sixteenth century by Palladio and Scamozzi (the architect of the Gonzaga theater at Sabbioneta) was all of wood, canvas, paper, and plaster; the semi-oval tiers of seats, the loggia above them, the velarium, the stage, the scenery rep-

resenting roads seen in perspective were intended, notwithstanding their cinquecento style, to depict the streets of Thebes as a setting for the revived *Oedipus Tyrannus* of Sophocles. If we examine the very magnificent Farnese theater in Parma, built by G. B. Aleotti about 1619, we again find wood, canvas, paper, and plaster. As in the Palladian theater at Vicenza, there was originally a permanent stage scene of the same flimsy, perishable materials.

THE GREAT ITALIAN SCENOGRAPHY

The seicento was a century of wonders and triumphs for the theater. While tragedy and pastoral drama still followed tradition, melodrama and improvised comedy opened a new era and brought with them an entirely new spirit and character. Literary comedy followed old schemes; yet some freshness and spontaneity filtered in—the use of dialects and masks, for example. The *Commedia dell'arte* relied almost entirely on the ingenuity and wit of the actors; it required from the performers a certain amount of culture and entailed a naturalness unknown till the seventeenth century. New types were born which are still remembered together with the names of the actors who created them: Francesco Andreini in the rôle of Capitan Spaventa da Valle Inferno, Silvio Fiorillo in that of Pulcinella, and Giovanni Pianchi in that of Capitan Spezzaferro.

Musical drama was the greatest artistic glory of the time; in fact, it was the pride and chief interest of this epoch, while draftsmanship and the plastic arts in general were regarded with a certain indifference. Words and music had been gradually coming into a more dominant position with the introduction of monody and melody in song and speech. But the form of musical drama which was in time to reach such marvelous heights with Gluck, Rossini, and Wagner was formulated only at the end of the sixteenth and the beginning of the seventeenth century when Ottaviano Rinuccini and Jacopo Peri wrote the first opera. *A propose* of this initial experiment, Marco da Gagliano wrote: "*Il piacere e lo stupore che partorì negli animi degli uditori il Nuovo Spettacolo non si può esprimere.*"

The consequences of this new performance were extraordinarily far-reaching for music and the art of theatrical designing. The plastic and graphic arts immediately came to the fore and the architecture of the theater was transformed. Bernardo Buontalenti, the greatest architect of the Medici, built a theater with semi-circular tiers of seats, introducing, however, the novelty of inclined planes. But it was a Bolognese painter and architect, Andrea Sighizzi, a man forgotten by history, who arranged both the stage and the auditorium in the manner that, with a few innovations, has lasted to this day and may perhaps last forever.

Sighizzi was born about 1610 and in 1641 he built in his own city the Teatro Formigliari. He no longer used the steps of the classical theater but rows of boxes one above the other disposed in a semicircle. Malvasia, one of the architect's contemporaries, said that the Teatro Formagliari "ha servito poi per norma e modello d'ogni altro anche di fuori di Bologna, non potendosi disporre uno più galante, uno più copioso, uno più comodo." And another wrote: "*I palchetti, secondo che dalle scene camminano verso il mezzo del teatro, vanno sempre salendo di qualche oncia l'uno sopra all'altro, e similmente vanno di qualche oncia sporgendo all'infuori. Per tal via meglio si affaccia ogni palchetto alla scena e l'uno non impedisce punto la vista dell'altro.*" Ten years later Sighizzi built the Teatro Malvezzi, also at Bologna, which was larger and more magnificent than the first. The most frequent

alteration of Sighizzi's original type consisted in not raising the boxes in proportion to their distance from the stage, but in placing them sometimes on a slightly slanting line, sometimes on a perfectly horizontal one. But even in this respect some have followed Sighizzi's initial arrangement: the Teatro Comunale of Reggio Emilia, built in 1743 and burnt down in 1852, had raised boxes, and the charm of such a structure may still be seen in the Teatro del Falcone in Genoa and in the Filarmonico of Verona.

A recent French writer states that theatrical decoration developed considerably when Mahelot and Laurent made the first changeable and successive pieces of scenery for the Hôtel de Bourgogne and the Comédie Française, where Molière's comedies and those of Rotron and Hardy were being played. This setting according to the "modern system" was evidently a relief, considering what de Scudéry wrote in 1637 on the subject of a single scene for a whole play: "The theater is so badly organized that the same scene represents the King's apartment, that of the infanta, the house of Chimène, the street, etc."

What does the recent French author mean? Does he attribute to Mahelot and Laurent the invention of successive scenes instead of the single and permanent one, or, when speaking of the "modern system," does he allude to the Italian arrangement, which by that time was already old and perhaps only beginning to be imitated by French decorators? However this may be, more than a century earlier Peruzzi painted two scenes for the performance of *Calandra*; and there were many others.

Bernardo Buontalenti in 1585 made eight scenes or pieces of machinery for the production of *L'Amico Fido*: a view of Florence, a sky with scattered clouds, a dark cave, the city of Dis with its burning towers, a bare winter scene that gradually bloomed into spring, changing from an arid desert into a delicious garden, a mass of steep rocks with a view of the sea in the background which passed from a calm to a storm, a dark and threatening sky which cleared up and shone at the passage of Juno, finally a wood of every manner of wild trees whose tops seemed to touch the sky. For another comedy, *La Pellegrina* of Girolamo Bagagli, the changes were nine: a temple, Pisa with the whole panorama of her fine buildings and palaces along the Arno, a garden, a mountain with gloomy caves, a wood of oaks and beech-trees and a dark cave out of which a horrible snake came vomiting smoke and fire, a country scene, the Inferno with Lucifer three-faced as in fourteenth century frescoes, a view of the sea with sailing ships, and finally Olympus.

When the *Idropica* by Guarino was produced at Mantua in 1608 for the marriage of Francesco Gonzaga and Margaret of Savoy, there first appeared a view of the city emerging from surrounding lakes, then a flight of clouds with the gods, Padua, a garden, the sea, and the cave of Aeolus.

No matter how complicated, these scenes were changed with extraordinary rapidity. Baldinucci tells us that Baccio del Bianco went to Spain when theatrical decoration was in a pitiable state there and that he started with great diligence to prepare the "diverse e meravigliose operazioni che intendeva fare" for the comedy of some poet or other that told the king "che l'ingegnere faceva cose meravigliose a vedersi; ma tenea per certo, che quando la maestà sua avesse voluto vedere la commedia, gli saria stato di bisogno far portare al teatro e letto e vivanda, almeno per otto giorni continui." The king in his alarm wanted to reassure himself on this point and Baccio declared himself to be at his disposal. Baldinucci continues: "Fatte infunare le macchine e prospettive, addestrati gli uomini, stava aspettando la

venuta del Re co' grandi della Corte. Giunsero finalmente: e Baccio, fatta tirar la tenda, fece loro vedere la prima apparenza della scena, sì bella, nuova e graziosa che il Re fino a tre volte replicò *MUY LINDO INGEGNER FIORENTINO*. Poi domandò l'ingegnere se comandava Sua Maestà che si facesse mutazione: e risposto di sì non senza l'aspettazione di veder cosa poco gustosa, Baccio, cavatosi di tasca un suo fischio, diede cenno, e in un momento fu veduta mutarsi in un' altra: e da una in una altra mutazione istantaneamente trapassandosi, si venne al movimento delle meravigliose macchine colla stessa prestezza e senza avvedersene ombra d'artifizio." We know that all this machinery was so complicated that in order to raise the heavier and more cumbersome properties deep pits were dug in which large stone weights would descend, while great trenches would receive entire wings so that they might be easily lowered or raised while the ropes and pulleys were operated by a crowd of men with remarkable order and discipline.

Cosimo Lotti, another Florentine, had been to Spain before Baccio del Bianco. He it was who introduced scenography on a large scale in that country. We read that he invented such wonders that, thanks to him and not to the poet, a comedy was repeated thirty-six times.

This is what Domenico Benini tells us of his wonderful father who composed and acted plays besides designing the scenery for them: "Nella celebre commedia de *L'INONDATION DEL TEVERE* fece comparir da lontano gran copia d'acque vere, le quali, quando più pareva che si confacesse all'azione, venendo a rompere alcuni argini che l'arte sua aveva già renduti deboli a questo effetto, sboccarono nel palco e giù traboccarono con impeto verso il teatro degli ascoltatori, i quali appresa quell' apparenza per vera inondazione, tanto si atterirono, che, stimando ciascuno disgrazia ciò ch'era arte, chi frettolosamente alzossi per fuggire, chi salendo sui banchi cerco di farsi superiore al pericolo, e colla medesima confusione camminavano ancora tutte l'altre cose fra di loro, quando, ad un tratto, coll'aprirsi di una cataratta, rimase tutta quella gran copia d'acqua assorbita senz'altro danno degli uditori che del timore."

The same author continues: "In un'altra commedia nominata la *FIERA* se' rappresentare nel palco un carro carnevalesco con accompagnamento di torce a vento. Un di quei che portava la torcia e di cui era ufficio far burla, fregò e risfregò la sua torcia a una scena, quasi dilatar volesse maggiormente la fiamma com'è solito farsi sopra le pareti dei muri. Alcuni degli uditori et altri ancora di dentro le scene, forte gridavano ch'ei si fermasse pel pericolo che vi era di accendere fuoco alle tele. Dal fatto e dalle voci ne nacque nel popolo qualche timore che, appena concepito, degenerò tosto in spavento, poichè videro la scena e con essa ancora buona parte dell'altre ardere con artificiosa et innocente fiamma che, serpendo a poco a poco, venne a fare un incendio universale di tutte. . . . Ma sul più forte della confusione e dell'incendio mutossi con un ordine meraviglioso la scena e, da un incendio che appariva, divenne un deliziosissimo giardino."

Was not this the Magic Fire itself? And here is the description of other devices invented by Bernini: "Fece comparire due teatri e due udienze gli uni opposti agli altri, uno che era il vero in faccia al palco, l'altro che era il finto nel fine del palco, rimanendo il palco come in mezzo a due teatri. . . . Poi finalmente miravasi la partenza dal finto teatro, chi in carrozza, chi a cavallo e chi a piedi, durando ben un'ora dopo la commedia la curiosa vista di questa nuova Commedia." Equally intriguing was Bernini's setting for the "Sunrise" scene in

the comedy called *Marina*. The cavaliere won such applause for this, and the play was so greatly praised that Louis XIII, King of France, asked for the models of the settings through Cardinal Richelieu. Bernini sent them immediately with precise instructions. But at the end of the letter he wrote with his own hand these words, "*Riuscira quando mandero costà le mie mani e la mia testa.*"

As a matter of fact, while Italy was producing such miracles, all the rest of Europe, as far as scenery was concerned, was still in a condition of primeval crudity.

How were Shakespeare's plays produced in England? In a hall, on a bare platform against a wall covered with black cloth, on which a sign would be hung informing the audience of the place where the action was supposedly occurring. Only rarely the branch of a tree would signify a wood, or a block of stone would represent buildings. As for the hall, the general public would occupy the lower space while the more distinguished persons would sit on either side of the stage on the same level as the actors.

Italians were in demand in all the courts in Europe, for they had invented the *Commedia dell'arte*, musical drama, and theatrical machinery. Italy, deprived of her political liberty, sought comfort in her theaters and thus they grew sparkling and festive, full of dazzling splendor, amazement, and forgetfulness.

Designers of scenery, architects, musicians, and actors would go in crowds not only to amuse but to awaken or foster the latent theatrical abilities of other nations. Italian musicians, scattered in the courts, theaters, and churches of every European country, founded the schools which, in the eighteenth century, produced, especially in Germany, the greatest geniuses of symphonic music. The Italians of that time built up the conception of an orchestra. Claudio Monteverdi was the first to make use of brasses, Gian Battista Lulli, of woodwinds, in hopes of completely mastering chromatic passages. Gian Giacomo Carissimi introduced orchestral music in church.

The ubiquitous influence of the theater was such that it entered unconsciously into private houses, convents, and churches. The displays of lighting, dancing, and pantomime inspired our great decorators; scenography became a glorious source of inspiration for our architects. Palaces, costumes, civil celebrations, religious functions, all became richer and more pompous. The humble church performances which had given birth to all this grandeur reappeared in the churches with perhaps irreverent sumptuousness.

From the stage illusionistic perspective was carried into the great basilicas, now decorated with theatrical extravagance. Padre Pozzo did not disdain to draw the plan of a theater, while with the most daring perspectives he deepened the walls of his chapels and raised the vaults and the domes of his churches.

Although there were other theatrical designers in many parts of Italy, the most famous in the seventeenth century were from Tuscany and Rome, in the eighteenth from Bologna. In the course of three centuries the latter city produced no less than a hundred scenographers, more than any other city in the world. Probably the very aspect of the old Emilian town was in part responsible for such a lively and continued interest in architectural scenery. The frequent snow storms due to the position of Bologna, placed on the northern slope of the Apennines, on the very edge of the valley of the Po, gave rise to a very special type of architecture. Most of the streets were protected by arcades. In the thirteenth century the arcading was sustained by tall wooden beams; with the increase of wealth and the



FIG. 1—*Avenues of Trees: Design for a Stage Setting by Giacomo Torelli (1608-1678)*



FIG. 2—*Imperial Baths: Design for a Stage Setting by Stefano Orlandi (1681-1760)*



FIG. 3—*Atrium and Stairs: Design for a Stage Setting by Giuseppe Galli Bibiena (1696–1757)*

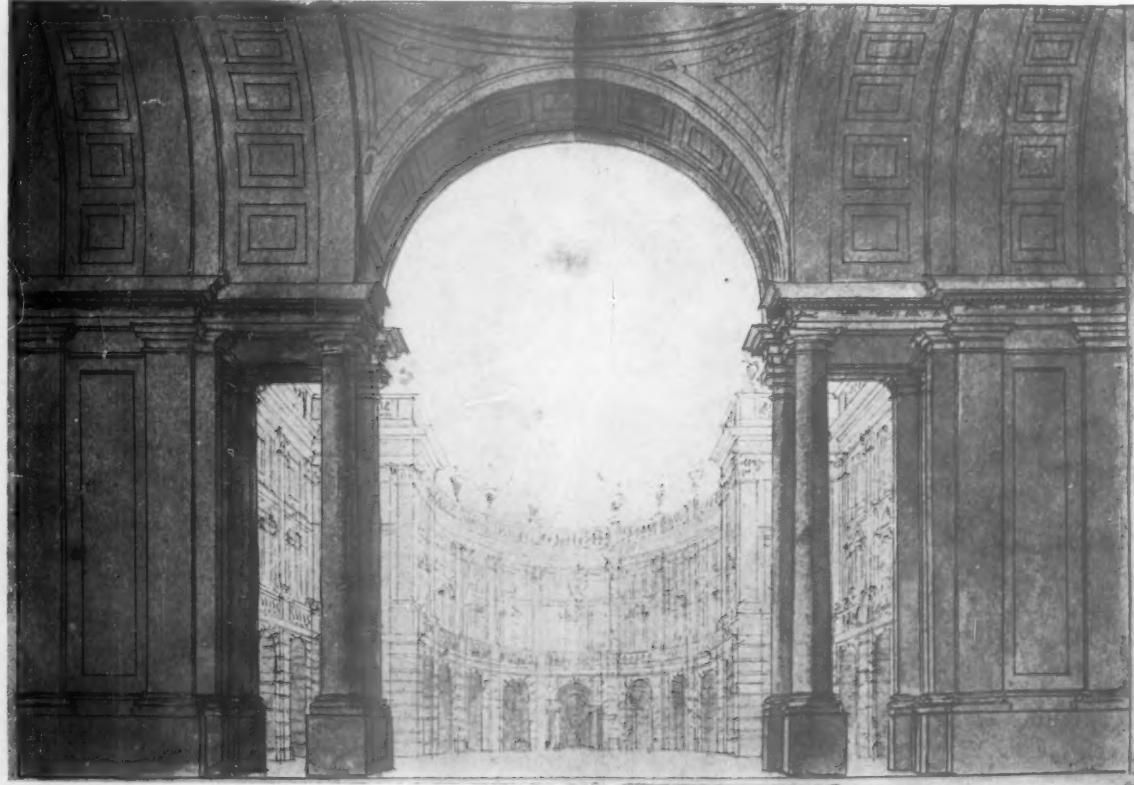


FIG. 4—*Great Court of a Royal Palace: Design for a Stage Setting by Bernardino Galliari (1707–1794)*

advent of the Renaissance the columns were built of brick or stone, the plain, rough capitals assumed a studied and elaborate elegance, the classical arch and architrave took the place of the Gothic arch. Brilliant terra cotta ornaments decorated the cornices, arches, windows, and doorways of both houses and palaces. Such a never-ending succession of pilasters and columns, arches, and tympana lining the streets in straight lines as the naves of a basilica or winding like a river edged with trees, showing darkly against squares flooded with light, or brilliantly sunny against hazy distances and gloomy passages, between churches with flying buttresses and slender, threatening towers, created in repetition and contrast a play of light and shade, a variety of perspective that no imaginative artist could ignore and that spurred his fancy to the creation of scenery increasingly picturesque and evocative.

There were ten painters in the Bibiena family and of these eight were interested in the theater. During the course of a century they painted scenery and built machines for numberless cities in Italy and for all the courts in Europe; they were in such demand and received such a tribute of praise and remuneration that when they returned to Bologna after one of their journeys, Barilli wrote of them in his chronicles as follows: "*Dopo molto tempo, che sono stati col loro genitore a Vienna e in Portogallo, li figli del virtuoso dipintore da teatro, signor Bibiena, sono venuti a rimpatriare e smoniarono alla loro casa in via San Vitale, tutti colmi di regali e danari avuti da quelle Regie et imperiali maestà, et a momenti si aspetta dal Portogallo, il loro genitore, dove era da molti anni, a far pompa della sua virtù; et hanno posto l'arma di Sua Maestà sopra la porta della loro casa, acciò vengano onorati e rispettati da tutti.*" As a matter of fact, it was said that the Bibienas were born for sovereigns as they could accomplish miracles of magnificence, but that sovereigns were born for the Bibienas since rivers of gold were needed for their work.

Giampietro Zanotti describes a performance produced in Vienna by Ferdinando Bibiena for the wedding of Charles and Elizabeth, who later succeeded to the throne of Austria: "*Fra le molte feste che allora si fecero, la principale fu celebrata di notte sopra la gran peschiera della Favorita [now the Theresianum] di cui, nulla apparia scorgendovisi un sontuoso teatro nel fondo del quale si faceva vedere un reale palazzo d'ottima architettura. Alla presenza di tutta la imperial Corte e di un numero infinito di dame e di cavalieri vi si cominciò la rappresentazione di un dramma in musica, di cui non si potea veder cosa migliore. Terminato che fu il primo atto, succedettero vari incantesimi, introdotti a proposito della rappresentazione, i quali fecero in pochi momenti ogni cosa sparire, cosicchè restò la gran peschiera, scoperta, e il mirabile si era che niuno si avvedeva dove il teatro e il palazzo fosse ito, cosicchè parea che in aria si fosse discolto. Null'altro più si vedea che acqua e cielo, ed ecco in un istante apparire una doppia armata navale con due isole in lontananza. Qui si cominciò un fiero combattimento che fu spettacolo il più giocondo che mai si vedesse. Col favore della notte e con fiaccole sparse ad arte, ove l'ingegnoso Bibiena conoscea l'effetto che dovean produrre e che si era proposto, fece egli in guisa che tutta quella parte del giardino nonchè la peschiera un mare sembrasse. Oltre le navi che nell'acqua combattevano, altre in terra ne aveva disposte e illuminate in modo che facean credere che tutto quel suolo fosse mare. Comparvero intanto in aria molti spiriti infernali, che combattendo contro l'una e l'altra classe ambe le fugarono e con la stessa celerità che quelle ch'erano in acqua, sparirono l'altre locate in terra, e di nuovo apparirono la peschiera e il giardino e sempre in modo che non si comprendeva ove tante cose si fossero così impetuosamente nascoste. Tornò quindi un altro palazzo e un altro teatro diverso dal primo e*

più grande e più bello. Vedeasi in lontananza un gran tratto di mare donde sbarcarono cento ballerini riccamente tutti ed egregiamente vestiti che avanzando si disposero in varie schiere, e fecero poscia molti leggiadri balli al suono di un numero immenso di vari strumenti; cosicchè tutto un paradiso parea. Terminati i balli, intanto che s'udian i suoni di molti strumenti guerrieri, passarono alcuni carri trionfali in segno, cred'io delle vittorie riportate dalla Casa D'Austria, contro i Turchi. Finalmente dopo questo tornò in un istante la peschiera e il giardino, a farsi vedere, e così ebbe termine la ingegnosa e incomparabile solennità."

In this manner Ferdinando Bibiena daringly attempted to emulate Bernini and the great Florentine builders of "machinery" like Buontalenti, Giulio Parigi, and Cosimo Lotti. In our opinion, however, this is not his chief claim to glory. His greatness was due less to the magnitude and extravagance of his stage machinery than to the startling novelties and inventions he introduced in the field of theatrical decoration. All his work, despite a pervading sumptuousness, preserved a logical simplicity, a commendable faithfulness to the laws of statics. When designing passages and halls and temples, he would not only draw the plan but make the elevations as if he had to build them in brick and stone and not in canvas and paper. It is to him that we owe the popular use of "corner perspective" (*prospettiva d'angolo*), thanks to which the perspective of the scene does not converge toward the center of the stage but to left and right, and the middle is occupied by a protruding or receding angle of the settings. Attempts to use this method were made by Vignola, Lorenzo Sirigatti, Padre Pozzo, and Andronet, but that the application and diffusion of the device were due to Bibiena is proved by the words of one of his contemporaries: "*E' stato Ferdinando il ritrovatore di quelle meravigliose e magnifice scene, che giornalmente si veggono sui moderni teatri d'Europa. . . . L'applauso universale che egli ebbe di tale ritrovamento, dopo superata l'invidia, e non a guari stette, obbligò ognuno ad imitarlo.*"

We cannot enlarge upon the biographies of Ferdinando Bibiena and his family. It is more important to bear in mind the contributions they made to the field of theatrical architecture.

It has already been mentioned that the Teatro Filarmonico of Verona is built on the architectural principles of Sighizzi. It was planned in 1713 by Francesco Bibiena, Ferdinando's brother. It was rebuilt after the fire of 1749 on the same scheme though in a more modern fashion. The original plans and the words of Francesco Milizia give a clear idea of its former aspect. This author tells us that it was among the most logically designed theaters in Italy: arcades in front, magnificent staircases at the corners, wide passages. He says that the quarters for the orchestra were set off from the auditorium in order to avoid any annoyance to the audience from the proximity of the instruments; and that the stage was well set back so that no one saw the action from the side. Between the auditorium and the stage were the passages to the orchestra seats, as in the Roman and Greek theaters, for, as he explains, the doors should never be right opposite the stage, because this is the best place in the theater, and because they would injure the acoustics. At the present time the Filarmonico no longer has the wall which separated and hid the musicians from the audience, but a similar wall was used by Antonio Bibiena in the Teatro Comunale at Bologna and also by Giuseppa Bibiena in the theater at Bayreuth which stood not far from where Richard Wagner built his theater, in which again the orchestra

was concealed in the so-called Mystic Gulf and theatrical machinery regained its pristine importance.

Such was the fame of the Bibienas that they were in demand in every part of Europe from Russia to Portugal, from Germany to Spain, from England to Hungary, and throughout all Italy; while in France Francesco Bibiena built the delightful theater of Nancy, and Carlo Bibiena experienced the success that had been enjoyed by his eminent compatriots, Gaspare Vigarani, Giacomo Torelli, and Giovanni Servandoni, and that was later to be attained by Domenico Ferri.

The entire theatrical architecture of the various Italian schools was based on the so-called classical styles. This was natural, for the very origins of the theater were classical; the Renaissance which called it back to life used the classical world as its model, and the great majority of the subjects of tragedies and comedies were classical. The Empire style gradually began to appear, thanks to amazing transitional artists such as the last of the Galliari and, above all, the Venetian Gian Battista Piranesi, who left his city, attracted by the wonders of Rome, and became celebrated for his engravings of Roman ruins. In these he proved himself to be an archaeologist, a painter, a poet, but above all a scenographer for his choice of points of view, for the solemnity of his interpretation, for the amplitude of his planes, and the vigor of his chiaroscuro. His scenery is always grandiose and incomparably imposing in a truly Roman manner. It is painful nowadays to see his grand conceptions compressed into such a narrow space. It would be more satisfying to place them on the stage, or, better still, rebuild them in marble and stone. For even if some of his prisons or his Palace Courtyard, his Arcaded Bridge, Ancient Campidoglio, Peristyle, or Temple of Vesta were visions as ephemeral and fugitive as a theater season, yet, had they endured as solid and lasting buildings in Rome, the whole world would have run to see them as it goes to see the Piazza Navona or the Piazza S. Pietro, the issue of kindred imaginations.

The neoclassic period had great scenographers like the Venetian Pietro Gonzaga, a compatriot of Canaletto and Piranesi, Sanquirico of Milan and Basoli of Bologna, not to mention many others; no special innovations, however, are to be recorded in connection with them. There was, in fact, a slight decadence in technique, for these artists were no longer able to build the astounding machinery for which the Bibienas were so celebrated. The color schemes and lighting improved, nevertheless, thanks to Pietro Gonzaga, who went to Russia in 1794 and remained there until his death in 1831. The following passage illustrates the result of his endeavors: "*Questo pittore fece splendere, per così esprimersi, il giorno ed il sole, nel colorito delle scene. Prima che egli operasse sì felice rivoluzione, le scene risentivansi di una tal quale opacità, perchè i pittori non facevano uso del nero e del bianco schietto, ostinati a dar risalto ad ogni tinta, abbassandole di troppo col nero o con altro mezzo in ragione dei fondi o della distanza o togliendo così la vivacità del colorito.*" From this time on theatrical decoration was designed in Russia with a vivacity of colors more intense than elsewhere and with an imaginative brilliancy which seemed to coöperate psychologically with the action represented. It was not, perhaps, a mere chance that from that distant Italian seed should spring the special chromatic tendency of the Russian stage, which, transformed by the more recent and daring aesthetic theories and modern methods of lighting, gave rise to Stanislavsky's and Meyernholdt's scenery and to the Russian ballets by Leon Bakst.

The neoclassic period had scarcely substituted for the pompous baroque and mannered rococo its own correct and noble, but cold, forms, when the first symptoms of romanticism began to appear. Even the most faithful followers of classicism sometimes broke away from their standards; out of twenty-two tragedies, Alfieri wrote six upon subjects that were neither Roman nor Greek; Vincenzo Monti two years after his *Aristodemo* wrote *Astorre Manfredi*. Giambattista Niccolini indulged even more in the use of non-classical subjects.

ROMANTIC SCENOGRAPHY

In the beginning the romantic school had the definite program of depicting in art and literature nature as it is and of completely rejecting the examples and doctrines of the ancients. The second part of this program was achieved, but as to the first the school fell into the vulgar erroneous belief in absolute truth to nature in art, so that, although celebrating its victory, it was merely passing from one conventional set of formulas to another.

The subjects were changed and it was thought that by neglecting the classical themes of the ancients truth was being pursued and found. The art of the past, while eminently plastic, was poor in sentiment, the romanticists, indulging in sentiment, fell into sentimentality. Romanticism no longer signified faithfulness to nature but a tendency to emphasize emotion rather than reality, preferably an emotion tinted with melancholy and anguish.

The heroes of the ancient world were abandoned in favor of those of the Middle Ages. Iphigenia, Dido, and Virginia gave way to Francesca da Rimini, Pia dei Tolomei, and Juliet. The most enlightening document on the reaction against classical subjects has recently come to light. Charles III, the Bourbon duke of Parma, when electing in 1850 a professor of architecture and another of perspective, addressed these precise words to the President of the Academy of Fine Arts: "Debo in nome di Sua Altezza Reale pregare la S. V. Ill.ma a volere fare intendere ai prementovati due professori essere Suo Sovrano Volere nel loro insegnamento non s'attengano allo stile greco, romano o classico, ma adottino invece lo stile bizantino, gotico, longobardo o anglo-sassone." Classicism was completely and humorously ostracized. At this time, therefore, there began to be cultivated in the schools and consequently in scenery and buildings that artificial Gothic which still in these days makes its distressing appearance when it is favored by the bad taste of clients and artists. All through the neoclassic period Italian architects and scenographers had made use of styles which were in harmony with the traditions of Italy, with which the Gothic, on the contrary, was utterly out of keeping, and therefore when an imitation of it was attempted, it proved futile and artificial, being merely the result of study, research, and interpretation of something dead beyond recall. Every epoch and every artist thinks spontaneously in certain familiar terms of the time, and it was impossible in the nineteenth century to put an imprint of unity and conviction on those artificially mediaeval, Gothic reconstructions. Even assuming they were really built according to precise standards and laws, as time passed the temporary taste for them inevitably died out and nowadays we have the greatest contempt and dislike for the façades of S. Croce in Florence, of the cathedral at Naples, and of the Palazzo della Ragione at Ferrara, which were once exaggeratedly



FIG. 10—*Temple of Solomon: Design for a Stage Setting by Calisto Cavazzoni-Zanotti (XIX Century)*



FIG. 11—*Arab Bath: Design for a Stage Setting by Calisto Cavazzoni-Zanotti (XIX Century)*

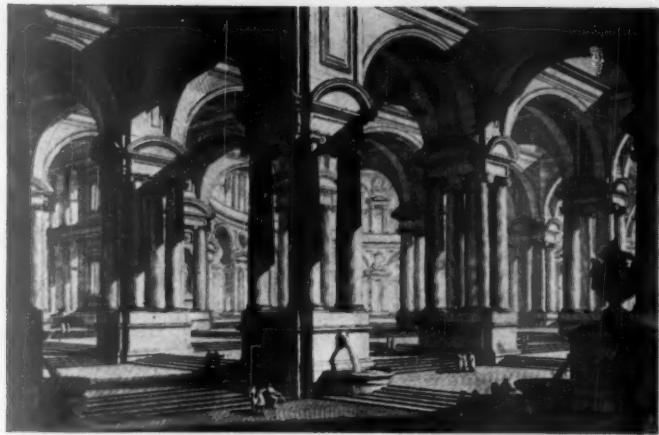


FIG. 5—*Atrium: Design for a Stage Setting*
by Giambattista Piranesi (1720-1778)



FIG. 6—*Atrium: Design for a Stage Setting*
by Antonio Basoli (1774-1848)

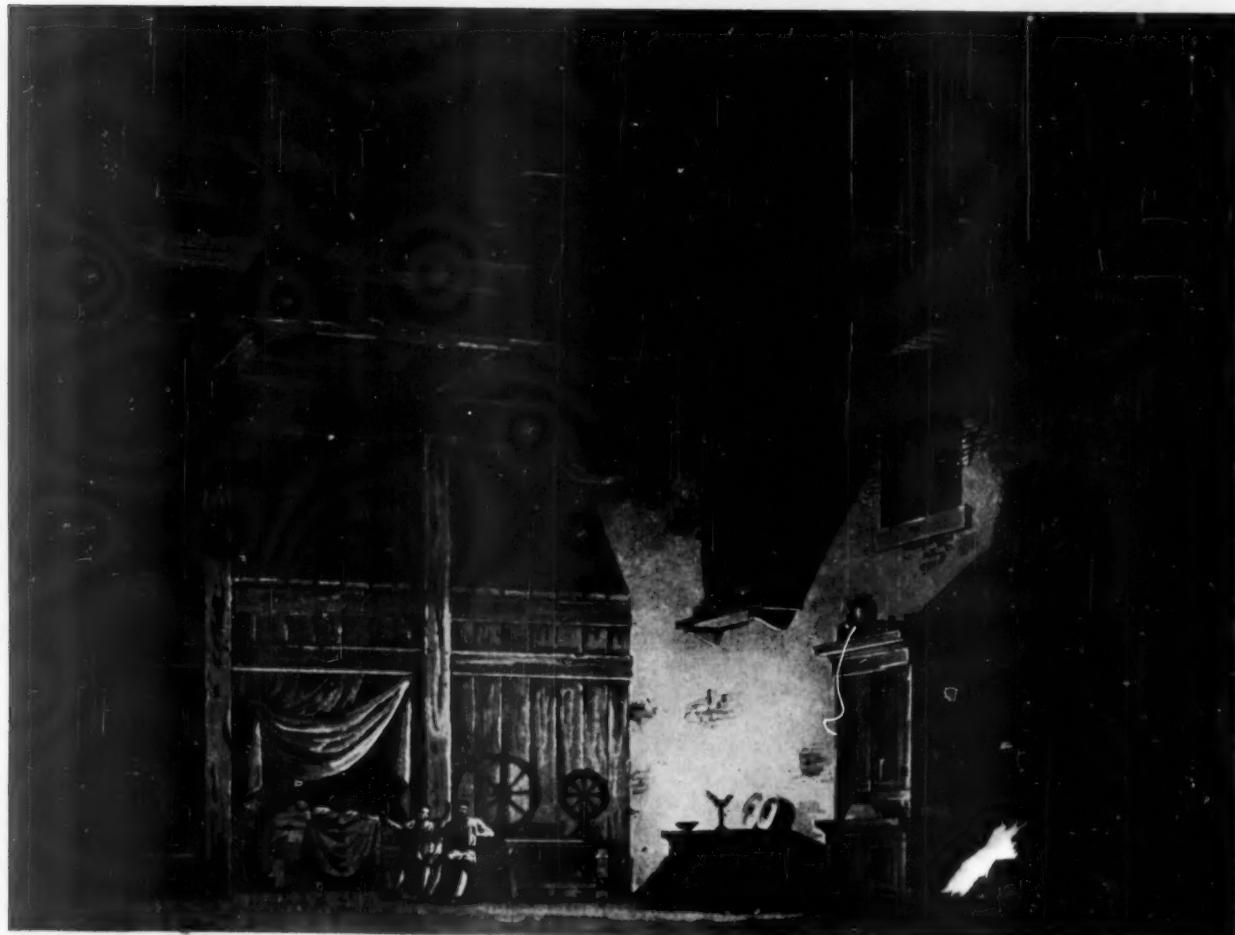


FIG. 7—*Peasant Interior: Design for a Stage Setting* by Alessandro Sanguirico (1780-1849)



FIG. 8—Forest: Design for a Stage Setting by Gandaglia (XVIII–XIX Century)



FIG. 9—Courtyard at Night: Design for a Stage Setting by Francesco Cocchi (1788–1865)

praised and admired. And it is the fate even of the façade of S. Maria del Fiore gradually to become equally distasteful.

The first scenes containing Gothic suggestions (leaving out of account some earlier examples of the use of the pointed arch) are, strange to say, by Piranesi; but it is easy to see that in approaching this exotic style he wavered and hesitated.

It seemed that in the course of time the architectural compositions in the Gothic style were improving somewhat, but this impression was only part of that illusion of which we have already spoken; it was due to a transitory reaction on the part of critics who found themselves passing through the same aesthetic atmosphere as the artists. As we glance every now and then at the sketches of the scenery that seemed so pleasing a few years ago, we are conscious of that same feeling of discomfort which we experience at the sight of the Gothicized façades mentioned above, while the two hundred years which have elapsed since the Bibienas, the Galliari, and Piranesi designed their scenery have only increased the value of these artists in our eyes.

It must be remembered, however, that the stage architects of the romantic period cultivated simplicity and were more successful in their landscapes, thanks to the influence of France on our painters and more especially of the general use of the Calame lithographs as a kind of manual for country scenes.

In the preceding centuries landscape had been treated in a manner which was trite and detailed, and at the same time complicated and unclear. Trees and shrubs were painted leaf by leaf, the grass blade by blade, while water was represented by a series of parallel crinkles, the ground by separate stones, the walls of the houses by well-defined bricks. A multitude of subjects would crowd into the small landscape, first a main wing with trees, then a stream, a waterfall, a little lake with houses and temples, a city, and behind this a mountain with caves crowned by villages and castles, further still, more mountains and strongholds, finally, in an opening between the mountains, a view of an arm of the sea with a port, a lighthouse, and ships. Evidently, this confusing excess was displeasing to the authors themselves, for architectural scenes were generally preferred to rustic ones—at least in contemporary engravings of settings greater emphasis is laid on buildings.

The romantics were more interested in landscape and they took particular delight in the picturesque so that, for example, in the many scenes where a castle was represented they would build it in ruins, completely overrun with creepers and wild vegetation even when the action took place at the time when the castle, having just been built, should have been in perfect repair. This corresponded to the sentimental attitude of all the art of that period which reveled in the emotions suggested by solitude, a deserted ruin, a threatening fortress full of shadows, ghosts, and shuddering terrors.

Scenography was still characteristic even though it grew to be much less involved and imposing. It flourished in many good schools, notably at Parma, Milan, Turin, Venice, Genoa, Rome, and Naples; but as in the past, the school of Bologna under Francesco Cocchi was the best of all and sent out to all parts scenographers of unusual merit. Many Bolognese masters were celebrated in Rome, in St. Petersburg, and in Spain, while Domenico Ferri triumphed in Paris.

Decadence followed and, even more than decadence, a period of shabbiness; perhaps Italy was neglecting everything else in order to concentrate mind and energy on the special

problems of its own political renaissance and of the acquisition of liberty. The more immediate causes of decay, however, were utterly material, strange as it may seem. Railways and gas lighting were two deadly blows to scenography. Up to sixty years ago every important city in Italy had a scenographer or at least scenographers who came on purpose to stage every new play; employment was abundant and the scenes were always new, ingenious, and original. The public, expectant and curious, would break into applause at the sight of a fantastic Moonlight Night or of a dazzling Royal Hall. When the first railways were built theater directors immediately saw that the scenery shown at Belluno might as well be used in Taranto; from Taranto it was dragged to Brescia and from Brescia to Syracuse. By this time it was torn and tattered, it had been folded or lengthened to fit the different stages without even the watchful eye of the author to see that the changes had been carefully executed and the lights accordingly rearranged. Moreover, illumination with gas did not have the adaptability of oil lamps, which used to be placed in large or small groups at different heights behind the properties, while their intensity could be controlled and their color altered with colored glass. Gas jets were arranged to form the footlights and were placed horizontally behind the drop curtain and vertically behind the wings. When blue glass was used to give the impression of night the light would no longer be diffused and wavering and subdued, but unpicturesque and crude, badly distributed, and lacking in variety of shades. Some attempts were made to remedy this drawback by lighting part of the scene with the old system of oil lamps, but soon even this appeared to be too much trouble and worry. The schools of scenography were closed because a few specialized artists were sufficient to meet the demand of the managers and of the public. Many among the best turned to the teaching of architecture, like Contardo Tommasselli and Agostino Solmi, or to its practice, like Tito Azzolini and Giuseppe Mengoni. Thus the glorious school of Bologna, more than three centuries old, came to an end. The time when Voltaire and Ernest Breton envied the splendor of the Italian theater and its scenery was nothing but a memory.

We do not deny that a few excellent scenographers remained and still remain in some of the most important theaters. What we regret is the lack of real schools with practical training and the despicable neglect of the settings in our theaters. Often the taste of our dramatic critics is so poor that they are willing to break a lance in favor of *mises en scène* that are nothing short of shameful.

The last of the great scenographers of the past (we are not yet discussing our contemporaries) was certainly Carlo Ferrario, who was faithful to the Scala for fully forty years. He is noted for what is currently called the "historical revival," which consisted in an effort to give to each setting precision and unity of style, otherwise so neglected at his time. Ferrario soon realized, however, that if historical reconstruction has its rights, it is impossible not to admit that any opera contains so many conventional inconsistencies that too much exactness is incompatible with its very essence. He turned therefore to a "sentimental polychromy," and making use of the more modern methods of lighting he obtained original color schemes. He conceived the idea of using different strata of veils and of lighting them in such fashion as to produce the most fantastic effects. While his architecture remained faithful to history and statics, his colors were usually very imaginative and sometimes quite exceptional. Nevertheless, turning back to some chronicles of Bologna we find under the date of December, 1746, the following information: "*E stato*

mandato a chiamare a Roma un tale Ruggieri fuochista, il quale, essendo nostro bolognese et per esser stato in varie parti dell'Europa, ha fatto meravigliare e stupire principi e monarchi nelli fuochi trasparenti ne' teatri, che però gl'impresari del teatro Capranica in Roma hanno fatto istanza di averlo per metterlo in opera in tali operazioni nell'opera in musica da farsi nel detto, nel futuro carnevale."

But how can we recognize the existence of a real "historical scenography" just because the artist showed that he knew something about styles? In that case, Pogliaghi perhaps and not Ferrario should be remembered for the best historical reconstructions.

FANTASTIC SETTINGS AND PSYCHOLOGICAL SETTINGS

The nature of the Italians is so well balanced that they rarely let themselves go to excessive or grotesque realism. They seem to have a mysterious poetic feeling, a religious wonder before all things beautiful and solemn, perhaps a heritage from the Etruscans, which enables them to idealize every artistic expression. No one in Italy attempted to imitate the daring of M. Antoine of the *Teatre Libre*, who so loudly voiced the cause of perfect realism. In his settings for *The Butchers* by Ferdinand Icres he hung on various parts of the stage several real quarters of beef dripping blood. As could be foreseen, such banality caused a reaction. It was observed that the theater was art—not vulgar repetition of real life, for which artists would be superfluous. Various currents of opinion were the result of the ensuing discussions; psychology, philosophy, and especially literature were called to the rescue and eclipsed decoration. Another reaction followed of which we shall speak after having considered the first tentative reforms.

The new school declared that on the stage life should assume a synthetic and psychological value. Words can create atmosphere, environment, and even costumes; even in rags did Aeschylus' kings cease to be kings?

"Mean clothes do not conceal the noble light
And all that it contains of pride and gentleness."

What can be asked of decoration except that it should not be pretentious, or excessive, or disturbing? As to the garden of delight, the sumptuous palace, let every one imagine them as he likes. The theater should not impose exact data but furnish a stimulus to the imagination of the onlookers to conjure up their own visions and their own dreams. Thus arose the theory that every artifice should be abandoned in favor of a return to simplicity and to the primitive settings of Aeschylus' tragedies with only the plastic elements indispensable to each scene. But ancient simplicity had been the result of poverty, not of renunciation.

Shortly after there arose a call for absolute harmony between decoration and costumes; this desire was justified, though not new.

Then a great interest in color asserted itself. The settings became violent and fantastic in color. Green monsters were painted on gold backgrounds, red mountains on striped backgrounds, yellow palaces on a variegated checker-board pattern; a harmony was sought and discovered between those forms and the rhythm of the sentences, of the ideas, and of the action. Others proposed that this action be sustained by music, others again would add perfumes.

There followed the tendency to color scenery by means of light. It is said that Loïe Fuller invented this device, which is undeniably beautiful, though the Italians should not forget the lighted veils of Carlo Ferrario.

In the field of lighting came a prodigious discovery: electricity took the place of the dangerous and ugly gas jets. Its advantages are countless: it is easy to move, thanks to the light weight of the bulbs and the ready manipulation of the wires; its intensity can be increased or diminished by switches which can turn on or off a thousand lamps near or far, alternately or simultaneously; it comes on with the rapidity of lightning; it allows every gradation of brilliancy; every tone of color can be obtained by tinting the bulbs or using transparent screens. If Buontalenti and Bernini, the Bibienas and Piranesi, the Galliari and Gonzaga could have had such means at their disposal what miracles would they not have accomplished! Their imagination would have run wild, their inventions would have been diabolical, though doubtless quite different from ours, for with them the thought was never too much for the pictorial expression. Nowadays this type of scenic lighting has achieved a great triumph and, though it sometimes indulges in excessive contrasts, for the most part it obtains effects of incomparable beauty. We are of the opinion that it is in the rights, in fact, in the duties of art, to use new means to create new things; yet it is impossible to be blind to the fact that often, behind the chromatic method, whether it consists in painted settings or colored lighting, there is hidden an alarming dearth and meanness of ideas. Some maintain that this evident meagerness is voluntary, even striven for; but we fear that there is a confusion of ideas and an endeavor to make lack of imagination pass for a sort of Franciscan poverty. And what could be more inappropriate in a theater?

The principles upheld by those who in 1898 founded the Art Theater in Moscow and created the so-called Russian ballet (which made its triumphal appearance in Paris in 1909) consisted in the belief that a state of mind should be freed from all accidents and that a maximum of effect should be obtained with a minimum of effort. They maintained, in other words, that they were making no effort to portray man among the vicissitudes of life, but only to interpret his moods. The settings and accessories accordingly were to have only this aim; they were to be in harmony with the psychology of the action.

The painter Constantin Stanislavsky, a staunch upholder of these principles, used the old technical methods of settings painted on canvas and of make-up for the actors, but with a subtlety of intentions widely different from the so-called historical naturalism. In his steps followed Leon Bakst, who, with his rich gamut of reds and greens, exquisitely delighted the eyes and achieved an orchestration of colors entirely in harmony with the color of the orchestral music. According to Bakst, the scenographer ought not to limit himself to creating the scenery to be superposed on the literary framework of the performance. Instead, he should be the one to inspire the visual character of the entire performance; he should define its style, its aesthetic tone, and its optical unity. Bakst drew new motives from archaic Greek art and submerged them in an orgy of color. This "ideal displacement," which gives the painter the upper hand when poet and painter are not the same person, caused a reaction headed by Lucien Jutteau, who protested that the painter should obey the playwright and not adopt theories tending to a generally arid and uniform stylization.



FIG. 10—*Temple of Solomon: Design for a Stage Setting by Calisto Cavazzoni-Zanotti (XIX Century)*



FIG. 11—*Arab Bath: Design for a Stage Setting by Calisto Cavazzoni-Zanotti (XIX Century)*



Gordon Craig, the most important theoretician of the modern theater, repudiates realism and points out the advantages of style inasmuch as it can produce a harmonious blending similar to that of the classical theater. He detests the type of scenery that with the intention of reflecting reality encircles, limits, and falsifies it. When a setting represents in a restricted space a port surrounded by mountains, houses, ships, and piers, the human figure preserves its normal proportions and the result is not truthful. Gordon Craig is against too much of the human element on the part of the actors; he banishes spontaneous expression and gesture, and condemns strongly characterized and realistic acting. For him the theater should have a quality of unreality, a tendency to shed light on abstract thought, freeing it from the yoke and excessive predominance of literary form, of painting, and of music. Expression should be obtained by harmony of gesture, by visions and vague imagery. The lighting he prefers is very simple, soft, and unreal. The actors do not appear from the wings or through doors but wander into sight and disappear imperceptibly, thanks to devices invisible to the audience.

It becomes increasingly evident that the actors, the costume designer, the architect, and the director should be one person, with one creative spirit.

When producing *Hamlet* in Moscow in 1912, Gordon Craig stylized the settings and the hero to such an extent that *Hamlet* practically disappeared and nature was inexorably subordinated to art in every respect.

Other innovations, variations, and "expressions" have been attempted on the stage by Appia of Geneva, who differentiates himself from Craig by giving full sway to the actor and first-class importance to the lighting effects, with a corresponding sacrifice of poetry and painting. Reinhardt in Germany uses decoration as a means of carrying out his complex conception of a complete unity of spirit between author, painter, and audience. He does not hesitate to take advantage of the most radical inventions; but, lacking the guidance of an impeccable taste, he often allows idealism to clash with vulgarity, and mysticism with crude calculation.

It is less easy to understand the futuristic theatrical tendencies which have made their headquarters at Paris, where those who are experimenting with novelties congregate.

Enrico Prampolini writes in these terms of the Teatro Magnetico: "Settings intended to depict a visible reality and to correspond precisely to the appearance of things should be definitely condemned inasmuch as they try to compress into a static form what should be expressed dynamically in accordance with the very essence of theatrical action." This is a general principle; he then goes on to say: "The value of the futurist reform consists in having framed conceptions proper to the stage in time and space, while bearing in mind the limits imposed by the stage and the duration of the action. The technical evolution of the theater is considered in relation to the new aesthetic currents, both spiritual and mental, which have grown out of Italian futurism and its consequent artistic tendencies." He maintains that, in order to be unshackled from all bonds, it is necessary to eliminate the horizontal plane of the platform and the cubic dimensions of the stage, which continually balk the development of theatrical action by holding it down to a single scenic picture and an immutable angle of perspective. He asserts that the reformers want the actor to be closely connected with the whole ensemble: to Craig, the actor is a mere splash of color, to Taboff, just part of the properties. "I consider the actor of no use as

an independent element in theatrical action." And thus Prampolini concludes, demanding, instead of the actor as a human being, the actor as an object in space.

Anton Giulio Bragaglia in coöperation with Antonio Fornari accepts traditional principles while working out original ideas. He does away with the wings and the back drop as an invariable frame for each expression of pictorial perspective, and substitutes "plastic scenery," that is, real constructions. He abolishes foot lights and uses "psychological lighting," which is obtained by throwing upon the stage from various parts of the theater shafts of colored light in harmony with the sentiments expressed by the actors.

THE UNREAL TRUTH

We have given a brief account of the more important types of theatrical scenery in the past and in the present. Should we be asked which of these we deem to be the most beautiful, the most logical, the most worthy of adoption, we would be obliged to confess that all have their beauty, their reason, and their logic, that all have a right to be tried and retained on the stage. The question is, when and how.

For the moment, we are not inclined to inveigh against any new form of art no matter how daring and wild. We may consider it ugly and doomed from the very first to disappear, but we have no right to express a certainty nor can we depart from the field of subjectivity and hypothesis by stating our opinion as an incontrovertible truth. Anyone glancing back at the past will appreciate that a violent objection to a new artistic tendency may lead to grave errors. Indignant protests arose when Titian painted his Assumption and Tintoretto his Miracle of St. Mark. To immediate contemporaries those powerful works of art seemed to betray intolerable signs of tumult and disorder. When the architect Gabriele Valvassori finished his magnificent Doria Palace on the Corso in Rome, so bitterly was he criticized for having departed from the classical discipline of the architectural orders that he was obliged to flee from the capital. And who can have forgotten the furious battles that were fought over Wagner's wonderful reforms? Not only the public but most of the contemporary musicians maintained that Wagner's music was not music but merely a mathematical operation translated into notes.

We must beware of trenchant statements: the true judgment of a reform or of an artistic conception can be given by time alone.

Some fundamental principles there are, however, that not even the most imaginative innovator should ignore. One is certainly that the literary work and the *mise en scène* should be blended into a harmonious unison. This, of course, is not a novelty. The necessity of close correspondence between the literary type and the decorative type is a canon as hoary as the origin of the theater itself. Frederic Lubker wrote in these terms about the classical theater: "The machinery and settings of the Greek theater were perfectly fitted to the spirit and character of ancient drama. Temperately used as they were, they belonged especially to the Aeschylean age of drama and to that of the Old Comedy, for both were of an entirely imaginative nature. The later dramatists centered more and more around the human element and more and more rarely used extraordinary means to obtain effects upon the senses. Only the ancient comedians were obliged to reinforce the highly fantastic spirit of their type of play by availing themselves of extraordinary devices, which they perfected with new inventions.

One of the outstanding principles sponsored by modern decorators is that architecture should be neglected in favor of color; they prefer chromatic values to the resources of perspective. The scene, they say, should no longer be a section of the real world seen beyond the proscenium as it might be seen from a door or a window; it must be an original picture with studied tone relations, an interplay of imagination and reality, and an absolute predominance of the ensemble over details and even of the scene over the actors. Who can deny that while this may be highly appropriate in certain dramatic productions, it would be utterly absurd in others? And, on the other hand, how is it possible to labor under the illusion that the eighteenth century settings, as well as the neoclassic, the romantic, and the historical ones truly reproduced nature and were completely faithful to reality?

In other words, does absolute reality exist in art? We deny it peremptorily. Ever since the time of Giotto, artists have always proclaimed the same theories with regard to reality, and art, like a glorious rebel, has succeeded in eluding them and in being always different. Cennino Cennini used to say in the fourteenth century: "*Attenti che la più perfetta guida che possa avere e miglior timone si è la trionfal porta del ritrarre di naturale.*" And Lorenzo Bartolini in the nineteenth century says: "*In natura ogni cosa ha le sue bellezze relative al soggetto che devesi trattare, e chiunque è capace d'imitare completamente, la natura, sa tutto quello che un artista deve sapere.*" Now the art of Cennino was that of Giotto, while Bartolini's manner was far nearer to that of the contemporary Academy than to the revolutionary principles he professed.

That absolute truth in art does not exist under any circumstances is proved by what occurs to artists of the same school placed before the same model, in the same place and at the same time. Once at the Villa d'Este at Tivoli and once on the Palatine I witnessed the work of four or five pupils of the Istituto di Belle Arti who were all copying the same group of trees and the same ruin. The drawings of some would be thin and elongated, those of others heavy and thick, or soft and slanting, or dry and straight. When it came to color, the differences were just as many: some would use violent and clear colors, others weak or muddy ones; some would break their masses with very strong shades, others would leave them flat and without relief. There were no two sketches alike! Where, then, was truth? The truth was just this: everyone saw reality through his own eyes and his own brain.

Is it not precisely the same with dramatic art? Before the great actress Adelaide Ristori, Anna Fiorilli Pellandi shone on the Italian stage. Cesarotti declared that "nature spoke in her heart." Ristori came and all declared that Anna Fiorilli was conventional and that truth breathed in every word and gesture of the new idol from Cividale. Later the actresses Pezzana, Tessero, and Marini rose to glory and fame and the critics declared that their art was faithful to nature while Ristori's acting, though noble and sublime, was undeniably academic. Finally, appeared Eleonora Duse and in her art was celebrated a sincerity which no one before her had been capable of expressing.

This has always happened and it will continue to happen forever because every artist expresses an unreal truth—if the phrase is allowable—that is, he enacts his feelings. Giuseppe Verdi was quite right when he said that the mission of the artist is to "invent the truth."

If we believe that Italian scenography is realistic in the absolute sense, we are entirely mistaken. When Craig denounces our attempt to concentrate the vision of a large natural scene within the limited space of the stage, is he not accusing us of an artifice?

One can only speak of naturalistic scenery by way of contrast with fantastic scenery, whether the latter be simplified or stylized or magnetic or futuristic or psychological, whether it be chromatic with colors juxtaposed or produced by light, whether the wings and back drop be removed or the proscenium changed from rectangular to oval.

If one recognizes the fundamental principle of the fusion of the various elements of the play, consisting of word and gesture, costume and scene, why should one accept a fantastic setting for a realistic drama? How could one conceive of a historical opera outside of the environment imagined by the writer and the composer? How can one envisage any theatrical work detached from the scenery conceived by the author?

Nowadays there is a tendency to subject author and actor to the scenic decoration, but I believe that this effort will prove vain, for no art can gain predominance over that of the playwright or the composer. It is not to be overlooked that Bakst, in order to have a free hand as scenic designer, turned immediately to the ballet, where the importance of painting and form, of light, color, gesture, and costume, was already recognized; only thus could he give free rein to his new ideas.

To sum up, all types of settings have a right to exist when they are in harmony with the intentions of their plays: for historical dramas, historical settings, for symbolical performances, symbolical scenery, and so on for every type of production, just as in the past classical scenery was used for classical dramas and romantic scenery for romantic ones. The problem consists entirely in producing good plays and good settings, no matter what theses are maintained or what methods are followed. The Italians have not forgotten the excited literary discussion which arose in the last century between romanticists and classicists, but all that was said and written and printed does not alter the fact that classicism produced *Le Fonti del Clitunno* and romanticism *I Promessi Sposi*.

Some have dared to denounce Wagner for the character of his settings as if he, though achieving a great musical reform, were not moving in a romantic environment. It was proclaimed that by the realistic fiction of the scenery his great dream was polluted, weakened, if not stifled. But when a few years ago at the Scala an attempt was made to replace the Wagnerian scenery in *Tristan and Isolde* and *Isotta* with modern symbolical settings, the audience was disgusted and disapproval was unanimous. How could one conceive of a futuristic or illuministic scenery for Verdi's *Don Carlos* or Donizetti's *Lucrezia Borgia* and, still worse, for historical plays like *Goldoni e le sue Sedici Commedie* or *La Satira e il Parini*?

The scenery should be such as was conceived by the author in connection with his work. All great playwrights and musicians have composed their work keeping constantly in mind the environment in which they expect it to be performed. This ideal vision flows into their very words and music. When Vincenzo Bellini wrote the divine song *Casta Diva*, he saw his grove of oaks under the light of the moon and his notes were in harmony with that scene; when Richard Wagner imagined the flight of the Valkyrie, he saw rocky peaks projecting above the clouds in harmony with the clattering hoofs of horses; when Bizet wrote Carmen's desperate cries of death, he saw the crowded and tumultuous arena of the bull fight.

In old engravings Dido is shown in a magnificent palace in the style of the Bibienas. She wears high-heeled slippers, a crinoline, lace around her sleeves, feathers in her hair, and carries a fan. Should the *Didone* be again represented with Metastasio's words and the music of Albinoni or Domenico Sarro, the settings could not be changed, for when Virgil's heroine laments the departure of Aeneas amidst elaborate music in these words:

*Ah non lasciarmi, no,
bell'idol mio;
di chi mi fiderò
se tu m'inganni?
Di vita mancherei
nel dirti addio,
chè viver non potrei
fra tanti affanni,*

the Dido that sings those words should have the crinoline, plumes, lace, and fan.

As an absolute principle the *mise en scène* must be such as the author of the play visualized it. Here lies the great importance of theatrical museums like the Scala. It contains archives relating to every past and present opera and a record of the sketches and costumes chosen by the author. Even when it does not seem desirable to copy the models too faithfully in a desire to vary or improve them or to use more recent stage devices, it is always possible, thanks to the museum, to maintain the same original artistic character.

At the end of this study I wish to say one last word in defense of old Italian scenography. It must at every cost be preserved and kept alive, especially in architectural schools, without prejudice to any other styles that may pass over the theatrical stage, as over the bridge of Stamboul pass all the costumes of Europe and Asia, of the East and the West. Italian scenography with its perspectives, has a greater glory and a higher mission. It was and always will be a great source of inspiration to architects, for nothing in the world can so awaken their imaginations, suggest more daring effects and groupings of masses, give such resources of grandeur, or arouse such daring novelty and variety, all of which are things that are always subject to unconscious suppression by the inert and unyielding nature of matter and the inflexible and scientific laws of construction.

A ROMAN PORTRAIT IN CHICAGO

By A. D. FRASER

THE Art Institute of Chicago acquired in 1889 a marble portrait head (Fig. 1), which is believed to have come from Rome. It is rather more than two-thirds life-size.¹ While it has suffered a fair amount of damage, the brow, nose, and chin being somewhat injured, the surface has fortunately not been over-cleaned, nor has any restoration been attempted. The head, which is broken off at the neck, presumably belonged to a terminal bust.

The face is that of a young lady of perhaps eighteen or twenty years of age. It shows an oval outline and rather delicate contour of cheeks; but the natural charm of the youthful countenance is marred by the presence of bold staring eyes and a small and petulant mouth, which one may well associate with the spoilt child. The planes of brow and nose meet at a very slight angle, thus producing an almost Greek profile (Fig. 2). The head presents an unusual degree of acrocephalism, which is made more conspicuous by the unusual thickness of the hair above the forehead.

The technique of the artist or copyist is sound, though uninspired. The modeling of the flesh is simple and exact, but the dry and academic character of the work is extremely apparent. The running drill has not been employed at all and the boring drill but sparingly. There is no undercutting to be seen in the working of the hair—a feature which points to a relatively early date in the iconography of the Empire. The eyes, though large and prominently placed, have delicately fashioned lids, and an attempt seems to have been made at a realistic treatment of the brows. The iris is clearly outlined, while the pupils are indicated by shallow indentations, as is usual from the time of (Hadrian 117-138 A. D.). The direction of the gaze is slightly upwards and to the right. The short upper lip has a peculiar circular dimple. The ears, of which the left is considerably broken, are low placed, flat, and of sketchy workmanship.

A number of unusual features appear in the manner of dressing the hair. It is parted in the middle in front, and the greater part of the surface is finely waved, the undulations becoming more pronounced above the forehead, where they assume a form suggestive of architectural vertical flutings. The long back hair is closely plaited and drawn up over the crown in a double layer, which is seemingly held in position by pins. Immediately in front of the distal extremity of this braid appears a curious intricate knot. From front to back the entire coiffure is encircled by a single narrow plait. This takes the place of the usual Imperial diadem, but from its texture it can hardly be anything other than an artificial switch of hair. The waves droop low in front of the ears, behind which the short hair on

1. I am indebted to Mr. Charles F. Kelly, Assistant to the Director of the Art Institute of Chicago, for supplying the chief measurements, and also for permission to publish the head. The following are the chief dimensions:

Height of entire marble, 0.30 m.
Circumference of head, 0.605 m.
Circumference of neck, 0.325 m.
Point of chin to ear, 0.13 m.
Point of chin to nose, 0.675 m.

either side of the neck is gathered into a short plait, or pigtail, that perhaps in nature owed its compactness to the use of oil (Fig. 2).

In attempting to assign a date to a Roman portrait head of the Imperial age, one is obliged to have recourse to the evidence that is afforded by the coins² and busts of the members of the ruling families. It usually resolves itself in the case of a female into a comparison of headdresses. The coiffure of the Chicago head is representative of a style that enjoyed popularity for a brief time during the second century. This presumably marks a period of transition from the exceedingly elaborate, and often to modern eyes grotesque, fashions of wearing the hair which obtained in the late Flavian period, the reigns of Nerva and Trajan, and the earlier years of Hadrian, to the more restrained modes of the last half of the second century and the whole of the third.

The technique of most of the known heads belonging to this period of change is curiously uniform and is characterized by the dryness and insipidity which has already been noted. The distinguishing features of the headdress are the upright fluting of the front hair; the tight drawing of two, three, or as many as half a dozen plaits up over the back of the head, without there being any suggestion of the loose lappets that are seen on later works; the small pigtailed at the nape of the neck. The plaited switch, which on the Chicago head surrounds the whole headdress, does not seem an essential; sometimes it confines the back braids alone.

The transitional type is comparatively rare. So far as I am aware, the Chicago head represents the only example of it in North America.³ The Terme Museum of Rome possesses a rather close parallel in a head of a so-called Younger Faustina.⁴ The gigantic head of the Elder Faustina from the temple of Artemis at Sardis, which stands at the end of the Graeco-Roman gallery of the British Museum, has a coiffure that recalls that of our head; so also does a life-size portrait of a lady who is probably the same empress, which is seen in the same gallery.⁵ The latter shows two plaits of hair tightly drawn at the back as well as a suggestion of pigtailed behind the ears. But the technical processes shown in these heads are not reminiscent of the transitional type. The technique, however, and most of the peculiarities observed on the Chicago headdress are seen in the case of a head from the temple of Aphrodite at Cyrene belonging to the same collection.⁶ The chief points of difference of the latter consist in the fuller ruffing of the hair in front and the presence of five plaits on top which are arranged in the form of a truncated cone. The date of this head has been placed at about 140 A. D. The full-length statue of the Elder Faustina as Pudicitia⁷ in the Louvre appears to have the same headdress as the Chicago portrait, but

2. With the present type, however, the testimony afforded by the coins seems to have little value. The intricacies of the coiffure were apparently too minute to admit of their being accurately reproduced by the die engravers of the period.

3. The portrait head no. 128 in the Boston Museum of Fine Arts has considerable likeness to the Chicago head with respect to headdress, but it is more elaborate, and the heads are technically different. See Chase, *Greek and Roman Sculptures in American Collections*, p. 188, fig. 238; Caskey, *Catalogue of Greek and Roman Sculpture*, pp.

216-217, with three illustrations. The heads belong to almost the same period, the Boston head being probably the earlier.

4. See Arndt-Bruckmann, *Griechische und Römische Porträts*, pls. 756, 757. The switch is clearly shown.

5. See Smith, *Catalogue of Sculpture in the British Museum*, 1892-1904, no. 1904.

6. *Ibid.*, no. 1414. Closely parallel are nos. 1416 and 1452, both from the temple of Aphrodite at Cyrene.

7. See *Catalogue sommaire des marbres antiques*, 1922, no. 1130, p. 64, pl. XLVI.

a large part of it is concealed by the drapery. A bust of this empress⁸ in the Louvre shows the same flutings on the front of the coiffure and the tightly drawn braids behind, but the technique is somewhat different.

The National Museum at Athens also furnishes several close parallels. Much like the example from Cyrene in the British Museum is a pinkish marble head from Egypt with hanging tresses behind the ears and similar eyes and front hair.⁹ A Pentelic marble head found in the Asclepieum at Athens¹⁰ shows a considerable degree of resemblance, but the front hair is not grooved. Still another Pentelic head,¹¹ much better preserved, comes close to being a replica of the Chicago portrait, from which its chief observable differences are in its flatter cranium and its lower lying and more deeply crimped hair above the forehead. On it there appear to be three plaits,¹² and not two, at the back. But the general resemblance of the features to those of the Chicago head is so close that the heads are probably to be regarded as likenesses of the same person.

It is thus to be seen that we must definitely associate the Chicago head with the time of Faustina the Elder, who was Augusta from 138 A. D. to her death in 141, as well as with the early years of Faustina the Younger. Our head must date between 135 and 145 and is very likely nearer to the later than the earlier limit. Unfortunately, identification seems quite impossible. As there is certainly no suggestion of the full bourgeois features of either of the Faustinas, the young lady must, for the present at least, remain nameless.

8. *Ibid.*, no. 1183, p. 68.

9. See Kavvadias, Γλυπτά τοῦ Ἐθνικοῦ Μουσείου 1890-1892, no. 60. This head and the two others at Athens seem not to be mentioned in the later works of Stals and Svoronos.

10. *Ibid.*, no. 441.

11. *Ibid.*, no. 442.

12. The difficulty of seeing the top of the head completely in the present position which it occupies high on the wall of the gallery accounts for this uncertainty.

FIG. 2

Chicago, Art Institute: *Roman Portrait Head*



FIG. 1



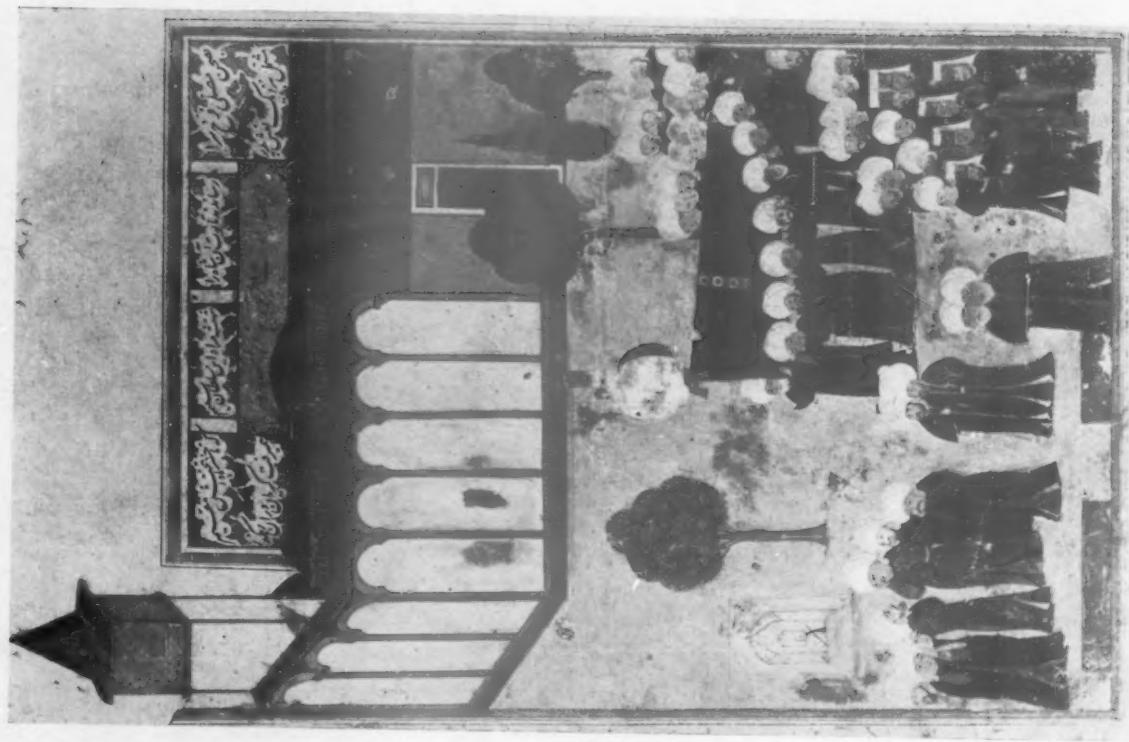
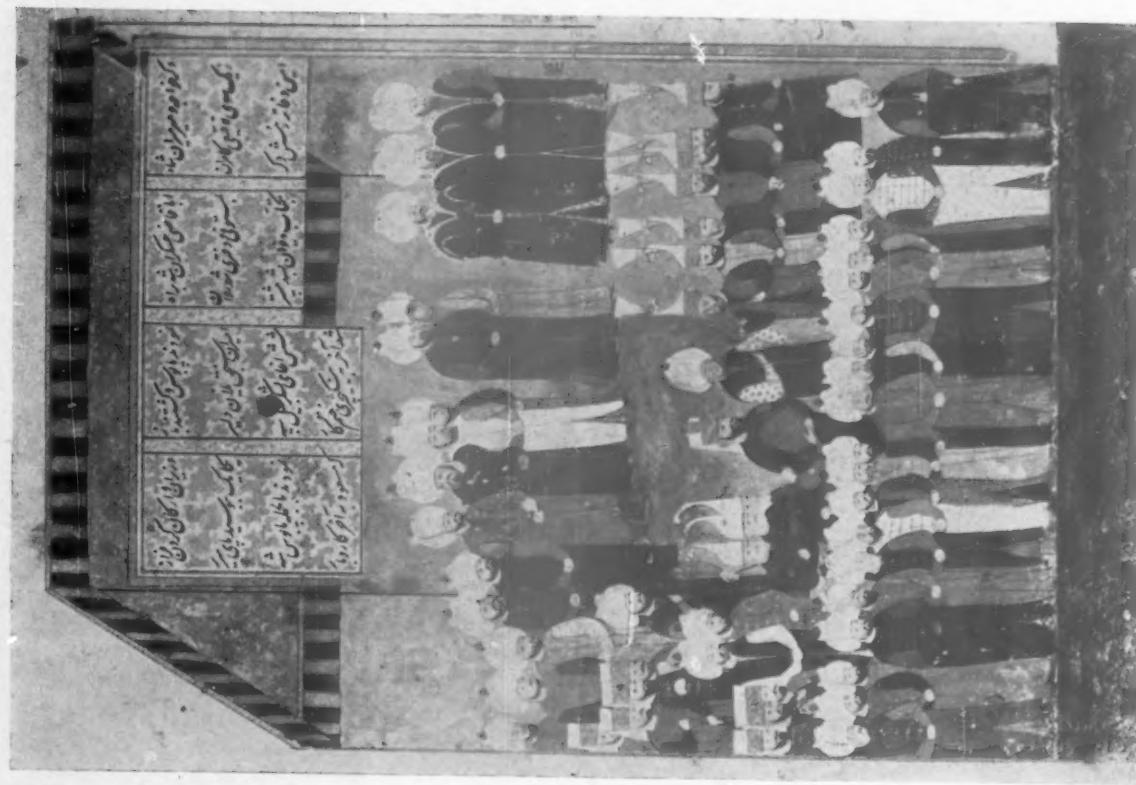


FIG. 1
Boston, Museum of Fine Arts: *The Funeral of Sultan Murad III of Turkey*



THE FUNERAL OF SULTAN MURAD III OF TURKEY

By NICHOLAS N. MARTINOVITCH

STUDENTS of oriental art can seldom be oriental philologists and *vice versa*, but the collaboration of these two types of scholars would solve many problems in oriental art such as the following:

Fifteen years ago Martin¹ reproduced an extremely interesting miniature in two sections (Figs. 1 and 2) which was then at Paris in the collection of M. Victor Goloubew and labeled it thus: "A Ceremony and a Funeral at the Court of Sulaimān the Great. A. D. 1520-1566. In the style of Gentile Bellini. Turkish School. About A. D. 1530."

Martin's view was accepted without question and repeated by others. Marteau and Vever,² who reproduce the left section only, write of the miniature. "Période Séfévide. Cortège turc à nombreux personnages. En haut sept vers persans. Cérémonie de funérailles à la cour de Soliman le Magnifique (selon le Dr. Martin). Ce travail paraît influencé par l'art italien dont l'un des interprètes, Gentile Bellini, a vécu quelques années en Orient. Seizième siècle." Schulz,³ reproducing instead the right section, gives this caption: "Beerdigung eines Sultans. Türkische Schule. Mitte 16. Jahrhundert. (Nach Gentile Bellini?)"

Though all the art specialists who have mentioned this miniature have been thus of one opinion, any orientalist who examines the picture carefully and reads the verses inscribed above it is bound to reach a different conclusion as to its historical place. Invited by the Boston Museum of Fine Arts to prepare a detailed description of several Mohammedan works of art, I also had occasion to study the part of M. Goloubew's collection which that museum has acquired. In this way I came to examine the miniature with surprising results.

The Persian text above the miniature consists of a title in gold letters and ten verses (twenty hemistichs) in black. My translation follows:

On the arrival of the bier, full of light, in the home of gladness

*Into the blessed court of the prosperous mansion,
They brought the bier of that king,*

1. F. R. Martin, *The Miniature Painting and Painters of Persia, India, and Turkey* (London, 1912), II, pl. 226.

2. Georges Marteau and Henri Vever, *Miniatures Persanes* (Paris, 1913), II, pl. 87, no. 107.

3. P. W. Schulz, *Die persisch-islamische Miniaturmalerei* (Leipzig, 1914), II, pl. 153.

The King of Kings, Murad, son of Sultan Salim,
 May he be on his throne until the Day of Resurrection!
 While burying him near the tomb of his father,
 The people were weeping all the way [of the procession].
 Several khodjas [Moslem clergymen] and the generals of the Imperial army,
 [And] two fathers qaziaskers [military judges] were on the road.
 They kissed the foot [of the late Sultan] and passed
 The vizirs and the high pillars of state.
 From one side the keeper of the imperial seal
 Came with the secretary and the comptroller.
 The commanders of the brave regiments
 One by one kissed the foot of the bier.
 From the other side the chief of the register
 Came in the first rank with the scribes of the State Council.
 Six commanders of the army corps
 Performed together their kissing of the feet of the king.
 At the end came janissaries,
 Whose exploits [in war] will be successful until the end!

Thanks to these verses we know that this picture represents the funeral ceremony of Murad III, Sultan of Turkey, son of Salim II. He died on Monday, the fifth of Jumadi Avval, 1003 A. H. (January 16, 1595 A. D.)⁴ No doubt this miniature was painted either that year or later. Moreover, the text of the verses agrees with history and we can identify the place reproduced in the miniature. Avliya Chalabi, a Turkish author of the seventeenth century, says: "Sultan Murad . . . was buried beneath a separate cupola . . . in the courtyard of Aya Sofiya [Constantinople]; . . . sepulchral monument of Sultan Salim the 2nd . . . he was buried in the courtyard of Aya Sofiya."⁵ The verse, "While burying him near the tomb of his father," is therefore historically correct.

Historical sources acquaint us with the titles of the high dignitaries of the Ottoman Empire, who are represented in rows in the miniature. The descriptive verses give the ceremonial order of the participants in the Sultan's funeral. By comparing the costumes in the miniature with those reproduced in various albums,⁶ I have been able to identify the officials mentioned in the Persian verses.

In the right section of the miniature are the khodjas, or Moslem clergymen, carrying the bier of the Sultan and standing around it. In the lower right-hand corner are some civil officers.

4. J. v. Hammer, *Geschichte des Osmanischen Reiches* (Budapest, 1829), IV, pp. 230-232.

5. Evliya Efendi, *Narrative of Travels in Europe, Asia, and Africa*, tr. by J. v. Hammer (London, 1846), I, pt. 2, p. 10.

6. *The Costume of Turkey Illustrated by a Series of Engravings* (London, 1802), pls. Grand Vizir, Mufti. Arif Pacha, *Les anciens costumes de l'empire ottoman* (Paris, 1872), Judges, Grand Vizir, Mufti. *The Turks in*

1583. *A Series of Drawings Made in that Year at Constantinople* by Peter Coeck of Aelst (London, 1873), pl. 7. *Recueil de cent estampes représentant différentes nations du Levant. Par les ordres de M. de Ferriol* (Paris, 1714), pls. 6, 7, 30, 32. Unfortunately many such albums contain fantastic material, e. g., F. MacBean, *Sketches of Character and Costume in Constantinople* (London, 1854). I have had to limit myself to the albums available in the libraries of New York.

In the left section of the miniature at the right of the top row of figures is the Mufti or Shaikh-ul-Islam; the supreme religious chief (Bostan Zade, by name), then two qaziaskers, or military judges, one of which bears the title of Anadoli and the other the title of Rumili. Among the figures to the left in the same row are the keeper of the imperial seal, the secretary, the comptroller, and other functionaries. In the second row beginning at the right come six commanders of the janissary army; the Kapudan Pasha, or Lord of the Admiralty (Djigale Zade, by name); the Grand Vizir, or Prime Minister (Sinan Pasha, by name); and the Rais-efendi, or Minister of Foreign Affairs (Yahya Chalabi, by name); three generals, three khodjas; and seven civil officers, four above and three below. The lower row is occupied by the scribes of the State Council with the chief of the register at the right.

A ROMANESQUE FRESCO IN THE PLANDIURA COLLECTION

By WALTER W. S. COOK

THE collection of mediaeval Spanish art in the home of Sr. D. Luis Plandiura at Barcelona consists chiefly of panel painting and sculpture. Although an active part was taken by Sr. Plandiura in the transfer of the Catalan mural paintings to the Museum of Fine Arts in Barcelona, his own collection contained, until recently, but one example of fresco painting, a small fragment from a chapel at Esterri d'Aneu. During the past year a more important representative of the Catalan school has entered Sr. Plandiura's collection in the form of three fragments of mural painting from the parish church at Argolell.

Situated in the northernmost part of Catalonia, in the foothills of the Pyrenees, the hamlet of Argolell lies in the district of Puigcerdá, about fifteen kilometers north of La Seu de Urgell. It is a short distance from the Palira river, near the southern frontier of Andorra, and is part of the municipal district of Civís. The earliest mention of a church at Argolell is a doubtful reference in an act of consecration of the cathedral of La Seu de Urgell in the year 819, which also mentions churches in the neighboring towns of Civís (Civiz) and Asnurri (Asnur). The relative unimportance of the place is shown by the fact that in 1831 Argolell contained only sixty-two inhabitants (when it belonged to the *senyoriu* of Antoni Peguera of Barcelona) and to-day it does not count more than twenty or thirty souls.¹

The frescoes from the parish church of Argolell, which have recently (1926) entered the collection of Sr. Plandiura,² were taken from the curving wall of the apse. They have been transferred to canvas by the Italian artist Arturo Cividini of Bergamo³ and are now preserved in three separate pieces. The church apparently contained a small window in the center of the apse and one of the fragments (Fig. 1) was placed at the left of the window and another (Fig. 2) was at the right.

The left fragment (Fig. 1)⁴ is badly mutilated and nothing remains except the heads and shoulders of three figures. The first personage on the left, with dark red nimbus and pointed beard, wears a pale red tunic or mantle, most of which has been lost. The letters CS to the left of the nimbus give no indication as to the identity of the apostle or saint. The central figure, with light brown nimbus and black beard, raises his right hand in an attitude of benediction. He is clad in a dark red tunic and pale green mantle and the details

1. Francesch Carreras y Candi, *Geografia General de Catalunya, Provincia de Lleida* by Ceferí Rocafort, Barcelona, 1909, p. 520.

2. I am indebted to Sr. Plandiura, who has supplied me with the set of photographs made by the Barcelona photographer Francesco Serra.

3. The frescoes now in the Musuem of Fine Arts at Barcelona and the mural painting from S. Maria de Mur in the Museum of Fine Arts at Boston were also transferred by Cividini.

4. This measures, W. 1.26 m.; H. 0.59 m.





FIG. 3
Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Details of Fresco from Argolell. St. Paul, St. John, and Ornament from Window (Photo Serra)



FIG. 4
Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Details of Fresco from Argolell. St. Paul, St. John, and Ornament from Window (Photo Serra)



FIG. 5
Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Details of Fresco from Argolell. St. Paul, St. John, and Ornament from Window (Photo Serra)

of the head have almost entirely disappeared. The best preserved figure of this fragment is that of the Virgin, who is placed directly to the left of the central window. She is represented with a pale green nimbus, and a blue-violet mantle covers her head. In her veiled left hand she holds a white chalice, incised with a cross, and her right hand is extended with palm outward. An inscription was undoubtedly written to the right of the figure and the letters IA, shown above the window in Fig. 2 are in all probability the last two letters of the word MARIA.

The second fragment (Fig. 2),⁵ which came from the right of the window, is in a better state of preservation; two of the three figures are preserved in nearly full length. St. Paul (Fig. 3)—S[AN]C[TV]S PA[VLVS], on the extreme left, is represented with a light brown nimbus, dark red hair and beard, and is slightly bald. He wears a dark red tunic underneath a pale green mantle and holds a book in his veiled left hand. The edges of the book are dark red and the open pages contain a partially obliterated inscription—[P]AX [T]RONIS (or ROVIIS) EST NIHI[L]. St. John (Fig. 4)—S[AN]C[TU]S IOHA[NNES], the central figure, holds a rotulus in the left hand and the right is held with palm outward. He is represented with a dark red nimbus, short dark brown hair, and is beardless. His tunic is pale violet and the mantle, which is thrown over his left shoulder, is light reddish brown. On the extreme right nothing remains except the head of an apostle or saint (Fig. 6), who is shown with a light brown nimbus, dark red hair, a light green beard, and pale green tunic. All that is left of the inscription are the letters—S[AN]C[TU]S E—. It is possible that the mutilated figure is St. Stephen, although this saint is usually shown without a beard. The inscription S[AN]C[TU]S on the extreme right of the fresco (Fig. 2) indicates that another apostle or saint was included. All three figures are relieved against a striped background; the upper stripe (25 cm. in width) is neutral green and the lower is a neutral orange yellow, and the composition is bordered at the top by a dark red band.

The third fragment (Fig. 5)⁶ is a strip of ornament which was removed from the inside of the window. The main *motif* (14 cm. wide), a red rinceau with pale green petals on a light yellow background, is bordered on either side by a narrow black stripe. This, in turn, is bordered by a dark red scroll pattern on a light brown ground (7 cm. wide) and an outer red band with a row of white dots.

From these three fragments it is possible to infer that the mural paintings in the apse of the church at Argolell were analogous in composition and style to the frescoes found in other churches in this region. The curving vault undoubtedly contained a *Majestas Domini*, enthroned within a mandorla and surrounded by the symbols of the evangelists; or the seated figure of the Virgin, attended either by angels or by the three Magi. The fragments in the Plandiura collection were placed directly beneath the vault on either side of the central window, and the lower section of the wall was decorated with a painted curtain which reached to the floor.

If the Plandiura fragments are compared with other mural paintings from the Pyrenean region (S. Miquel d'Angulasters, Tahull, Bohí, Maria d'Aneu, S. Pere del Burgal, S. Maria d'Esterri, Ginestarre de Cardós, Esterri de Cardós, Estahon, etc.) it is evident that the composition of the Argolell apse more nearly resembled that found in the frescoes from the

5. This measures, W. 1.79 m.; H. 1.05 m.

6. This measures, W. 0.48 m.; H. 0.81 m.

Cardós valley than any other of the Catalan series. The original arrangement was undoubtedly similar to that found in the apse fresco of the church at Ginestarre de Cardós (Fig. 7), a fresco which has now been transferred to the Museum of Fine Arts at Barcelona.⁷ In the Ginestarre example the vault contains a *Majestas Domini*, enthroned on a rainbow arch within a pointed mandorla, surrounded by the four symbols of the evangelists with the remains of two inscriptions—MATEVS, MAR(CUS) EVANGELIS(TA). Directly below, on the curving wall, four apostles or saints are represented on either side of the small window. The position of the Virgin—MA[RIA]—to the left of the window, is identical with that in the fresco from Argoell, and she also holds a chalice in her veiled left hand (cf. Fig. 1).⁸ St. Paul—S. PAV[LVS]—stands at the right of the window and holds a book in his left hand in the same manner as the St. Paul in the Plandiura fresco. Of the six additional figures in the Ginestarre apse it is possible to distinguish by their attributes St. John—IO[HANNES]; St. Peter, with the keys—PET[RVS]; St. Bartholomew—S. BARTOLO[MEVS]; St. John the Evangelist; and St. Matthew—S. MA[TEVS]. Eight or ten, and sometimes twelve, apostles or saints, as in the fresco from S. Maria de Mur,⁹ are represented on the apse wall of Catalan churches and the presence of four vertical inscriptions on one of the Plandiura fragments (Fig. 2) would indicate that at least eight figures were originally represented on the apse wall at Argoell.

Close analogies to the frescoes from the Cardós valley may also be noted in the figure and drapery style. Although the heads and hands of the figures in the Plandiura fragments have been subjected to restoration, the original lines have been followed. There is the same treatment of hair and the same long faces and hands as in the paintings from Ginestarre de Cardós and Esterri de Cardós. The manner in which the mantle is wrapped around St. Paul's right arm in the Argoell fresco (Fig. 2) is identical to the treatment of the mantle of St. Peter in the fresco from Ginestarre (Fig. 7),¹⁰ and in both works there is the same type of brush work in the drapery, with a liberal use of rows of dots to accentuate the high lights. The use of striped backgrounds is common to the entire series of Catalan frescoes¹¹ but in the Argoell example the colors are less vivid than in the frescoes from La Seu de Urgell and S. Maria de Mur.

As in the case of most Spanish mural paintings, there is no document by which the Argoell frescoes can be accurately dated. The composition, and the figure and drapery style belong to the Romanesque tradition; but the form of the letters in the book held by St. Paul (Fig. 2) and especially the advanced character of the rinceau ornament on the piece from the window (Fig. 5) show that these fragments should be dated in the thirteenth century. They are obviously later than the frescoes from Tahull and La Seu de Urgell and were probably executed at about the same time as the frescoes from the Cardós valley.

Before closing our discussion it would not be without interest to mention the first Catalan mural painting which entered Sr. Plandiura's collection, a fresco from a

7. For reproductions and a description of this fresco see Institut d'Estudis Catalans, *Les pintures murals catalanes*, Barcelona, fasc. III, fig. 47, pp. 51-53.

8. For a detail of this figure see *ibid.*, pl. XX. In the Catalan fresco from the church of S. Eulalia d'Estahon and in the apse of S. Pere del Burgal the Virgin also holds a chalice in her veiled left hand (*ibid.*, fig. 42, pl. XX).

9. *Ibid.*, pl. XII.

10. *Ibid.*, pl. XVIII.

11. I have already discussed the use of striped backgrounds in Spanish art in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 2, pp. 71-72.



FIG. 6—Barcelona, Plandiura Collection: Detail of Fresco from Argolell. Head of Apostle or Saint (Photo Serra)

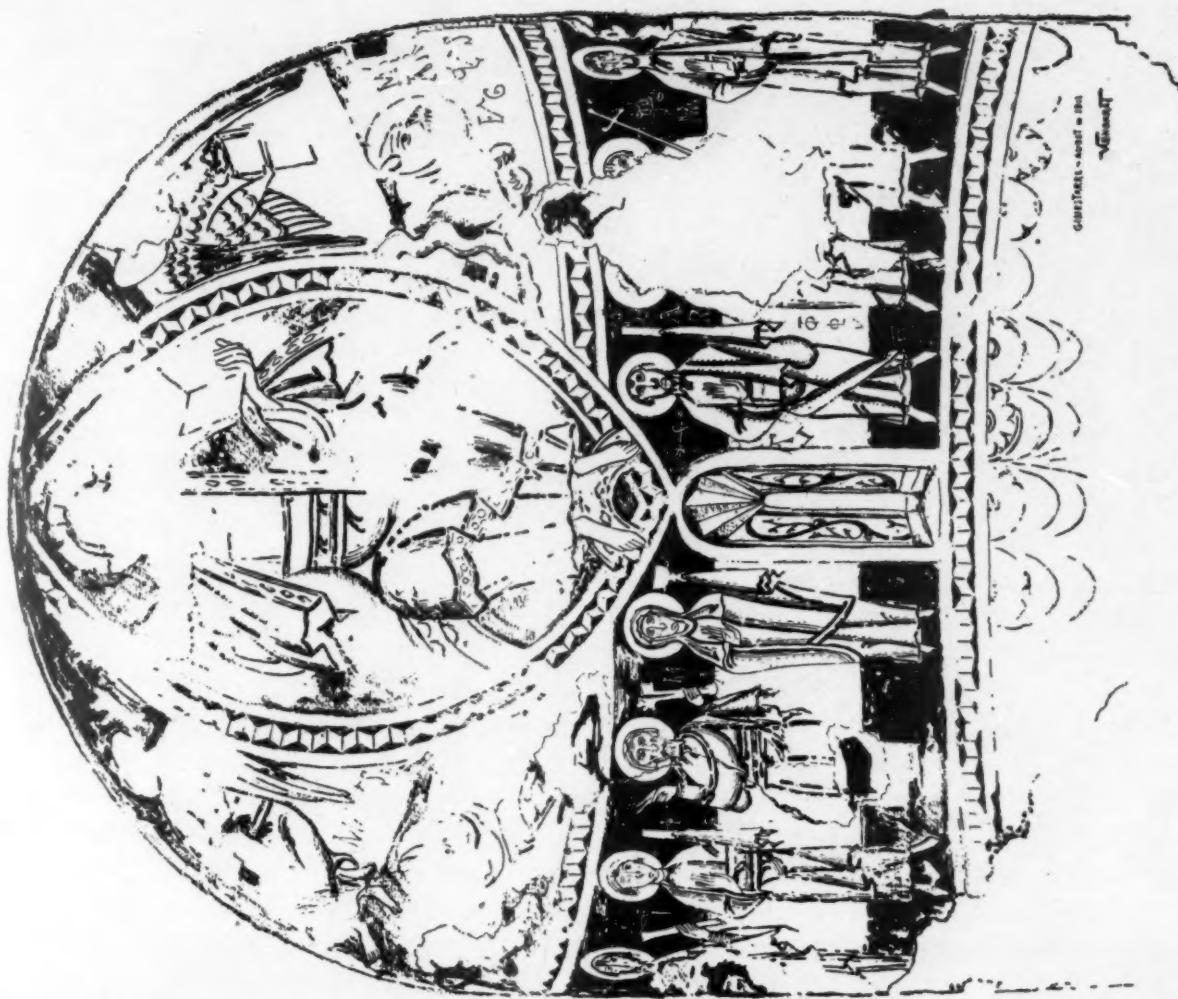


FIG. 7—Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts: Fresco from Apse of Church at Ginestarre de Cardós

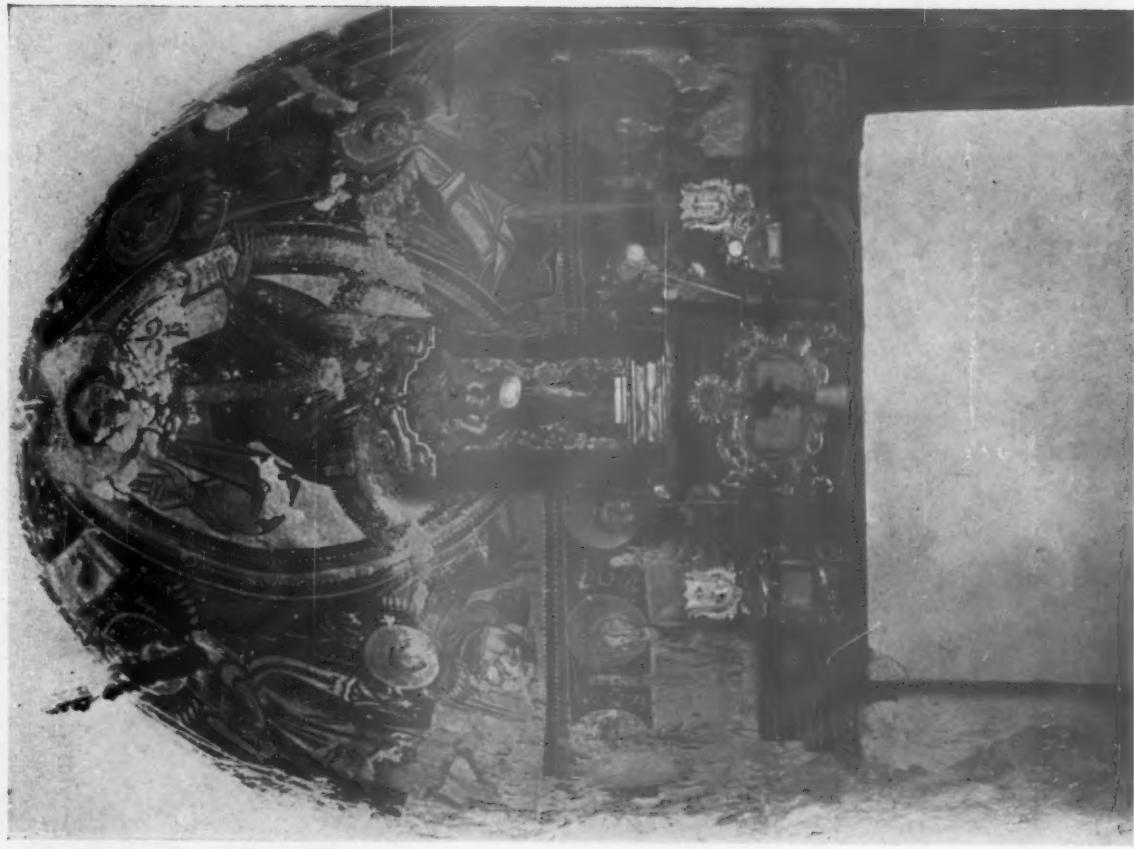


FIG. 10—Barcelona, Museum of Fine Arts: Fresco from
S. Miquel d'Angulasters



[FIG. 9—Esterri d'Aneu, Chapel:
Fresco in situ (before restoration)
(Photo Mas)]



FIG. 8—Barcelona, Plaça d'Armes
Collection: Fresco from Esterri
d'Aneu (Photo Serra)

Romanesque chapel at Esterri d'Aneu (Fig. 8). The town from which this came is also in the Pyrenean region and contains less than a thousand inhabitants. It lies in the Aneu valley on the banks of the river Noguera Pallaresa, about thirty-three kilometers north of Sort and seventy-four kilometers from Tremp. The region is known as l'Alt Pallars; Esterri d'Aneu, the capital of the valley, was formerly the residence of the counts of Pallars. The church of *Stirri* was mentioned in an act of consecration of the cathedral of La Seu de Urgell in the year 819.¹²

All that remains of the mural paintings which once decorated the chapel at Esterri d'Aneu is a single standing figure of an apostle (Fig. 8).¹³ That this was originally placed at the right of a window and that the upper half of the head has been lost is shown by the photograph taken when the fresco was *in situ* (Fig. 9). The figure represents either St. Paul or St. Bartholomew, since he holds a sword blade in his left hand. Although the upper half of the head has been restored, enough of the original head remains to show that the apostle was represented with a nimbus and dark red hair. The head is set on a long neck and the yellow flesh tints are shaded with green under the chin. The sloping shoulders are covered by a long pale green mantle which is decorated with rosettes composed of white dots. The sleeves are bordered with wide yellow cuffs; the white undertunic shows at the wrist, and the feet are encased in embroidered black sandals. The light grey background is surrounded by a dark red border which contains a row of white dots at the left. The narrow chin, the sloping shoulders, and the drapery treatment are paralleled in other frescoes of the Pyrenean region. The same type of chin and neck appears in the mural paintings from Eulalia d'Estahon¹⁴ and Esterri de Cardós.¹⁵ The same slender body, with sloping shoulders, characterizes the figures of the apostles on the wall from S. Miquel d'Angulasters (Fig. 10), now in the Museum of Fine Arts in Barcelona, and the angel in the vault wears the same type of embroidered sandals. The example from Esterri d'Aneu is undoubtedly later in date than any of the foregoing or the fragments from Argolell, but is nevertheless an interesting and typical late Romanesque example of the Catalan school of the Pyrenees.

12. Cf. *Geografia General de Catalunya, Provincia de Lleyda*, pp. 685 ff.; Joaquim Morelló in *Bulleti del Centre Excursionista de Catalunya*, 1904; Juli Soler y Santaló, *La Vall d'Aran*, Barcelona, 1906.

13. This measures, W. 0.68 m.; H. 1.76 m.

14. *Les pintures murals catalanes*, pl. XXI.

15. *Ibid.*, pl. XIX.

NORTH AND SOUTH IN THE HISTORY OF AMERICAN ART

By JOSEF STRZYGOWSKI

IF we compare the general configuration of Eurasia with that of the two Americas we find that the former extends horizontally around the northern hemisphere parallel to the equator, with a variety of peninsulas projecting southward, while the latter stretches crosswise the equator from the northern polar region to the southern.

North America indeed does have a certain noticeable tendency to extend around the northern hemisphere like Eurasia. How geology may explain these circumstances does not concern us here, but as *a priori* conditions they give rise to very interesting questions in our study of the history of art.

We customarily apply the terms *north* and *south* in a limited fashion, not to the whole globe but only to the northern hemisphere. In the history of art, at least, this usage has become so common that no one feels its real incorrectness and it continually leads to inexactitudes of thought which are inconspicuous so long as we are thinking in terms of European history and its presumed Near Eastern origins. The growing demand in the humanities for a world view and for a perception of things in relation to the whole is making this inaccuracy more apparent and must lead in time to a reconsideration of our usual way of thinking. The situation is clarified if we deal not only with India and the Far East but with the Americas as well and thus try to gain for our study an objective and scholarly and not merely European and traditional point of view.¹

I have mentioned the difference between the Old World and the New in geographical arrangement. What effect has it had on the fine arts? To answer this question we can best begin with the monuments of Northern Europe.²

From a study of these monuments the observer deduces that the art of the European North made its greatest achievements in wood down to and even after the introduction of Christianity from the South, either in shipbuilding or in house and temple (or church) architecture. George T. Emmons once said of the Indians of British Columbia: "Had the Chilkat been able to work stone instead of wood, their country would now be the architectural wonder of the Pacific Coast."³ That applies literally and if anything to a higher degree to the North of Europe, especially to the districts about the North Sea and the Baltic. The treasures of the Oseberg Ship exhibited in the University Museum at Oslo and the remains of mast churches in the Outdoor Museum of Bygdö, supplemented by what one sees in traveling through that country, pass all description and it gives one cause to

1. Cf. Strzygowski, *Natur und Unnatur in der bildenden Kunst*, in *Mannus*, 1928.

2. Cf. Strzygowski, *Der Norden in der bildenden Kunst Westeuropas* and *Die altislavische Kunst*.

3. *The Whale House of the Chilkat*, in *Anthropological Papers of the American Museum of Natural History*, XIX, pt. 1, preface.

ponder that these things could be so overlooked by historians of art. Though the individual monuments cannot be discussed here, the study of them leads to the following conclusions: it is an art in which human forms are not represented for their own sake; it is occupied almost exclusively with the three-striped band which originally flowed free, then was interwoven, and finally entered into so intimate a combination with animal forms that anyone ignorant of the development would be at a loss to decide which came first, the bands or the animals.

Now it is clear that the ornament of Northern Asia had a different basis.⁴ Instead of the three-striped band it began, as I have indicated in my book *Altai-Iran und Völkerwanderung*, with the geometrical scroll and animal ornament. The latter alone concerns us here, for just at the time of the migrations it extended over Europe and produced that change from interwoven bands to the so-called animal ornament, which Salin, *Altgermanische Tierornamentik*, has most fully treated. That late Roman art led to this change has been generally assumed simply because no art historian occupied himself with Northern Asia. This point of view becomes untenable, however, with the recognition that we are dealing with a phenomenon of the North and that it was in the Perm and Kuban districts the transition took place.⁵

The Jesup North Pacific Expedition has thrown new light on the ornament of Northern Asia from the American side as well as from the Asiatic. Of special note is the article by Berthold Laufer, *The Decorative Art of the Amur Tribes*, in the *Memoirs of the American Museum of Natural History*. The objects in birch bark and the embroideries therein published show how completely the ornament of these peoples was filled with patterns from the cock, fish, and dragon, and from plants. The underlying motive of the geometrical scroll is like that I have discussed in connection with Altai-Iran.

North America seems to play a part in this general scheme of the art of the North of which we have seen the European and Asiatic aspects.⁶ A western cultural district bordering on the Pacific Ocean, largely in Canada, and an eastern one, largely in the United States, embracing the Mississippi Valley must be borne in mind in understanding the relationships. This division is familiar enough to Americanists but has not been sufficiently clear to art historians. From the monuments of British Columbia that I have seen in the great American museums I believe that the totem poles with their rich variety of insignia have points of contact with the Turkish insignia discussed by van Berchem in my book on Amida, also that the eye ornament is so definitely of the same origin as that on the ancient Chinese bronzes that a study of the connections is necessary.⁷ The general impression I get is that the animal ornament of Northern Asia spread eastward to the western shores of America.

I visited at no great interval of time schools on an American Indian Reservation and in Finland. It was amazing to note the analogies of skull, hair, and eyes of the children of

4. Cf. Strzygowski, *Die asiatische Kunst*, in *Jahrbuch der asiatischen Kunst*, I.

5. Cf. Strzygowski, *Das Erwachen der Nordforschung in der Kunstgeschichte*, *Acta Academiae Aboensis, Humaniora*, IV.

6. Cf., my discussion of the history of art in the two

Americas in the *Proceedings of the twenty-first conference of Americanists*, held at The Hague in 1924.

7. Cf. Strzygowski, *Seidenstoffe aus Aegypten im Kaiser Friedrich-Museum, Wechselwirkungen zwischen China, Persien und Syrien in spätantiker Zeit*, in *Jahrbuch der preussischen Kunstsammlungen*, XXIV, 1903, pp. 147 ff.

these two extremities of the North with all Asia separating them. I have also noted analogies, though of a different kind, between the eastern part of North America and Northern Europe. I do not refer to the traditions of Viking voyagers to Vineland nor the supposed traces of runic stones associated with them. I refer to the handsome pottery found in the mounds of Tennessee and Arkansas and impressively published in the volumes of Clarence B. Moore and Ales Hrdlicka. The remarkable artistic achievements, with the characteristically northern colors of red and yellow and motives of banded ornament, recall so strikingly similar pottery of Northern Europe that here again some sort of relationship is suggested, even though it be nothing more than the result of similar geographical latitude. The conclusion thus gradually reached is that the North from the Rocky Mountains to the Ural via Asia used animal ornament and via Europe used band ornament. The ethnological museums of the United States and Canada contain masterpieces of tasteful color composition on the totem poles as well as on the garments and other equipment made of skin. If it were to be my fate to return to America I should like to investigate the question of how it happens that the Indians of North America have a bent for the representation of the human figure. Was it only a kind of picture writing? Exceptions to the general rule that the North shuns such representation are indeed not lacking in Eurasia; witness the pictured rocks of Bohuslann (Sweden) and the figured stones of Siberia.⁸

After this tentative survey of Northern artistic tendencies we can contrast the activities of the South with those of the North in Eurasia, defining the colder regions as North and the warmer as South. But the Americas stretch unbroken from the far north to the real south. Here we have the equator between north and south while in European thought everything is confined to the northern hemisphere; *south* means the equator and *north* means the pole. In the case of the Americas the equator is at the middle and there are two poles, north and south. In our traditional Eurasian point of view, which seems to make us prone to overlook the realities of geography, climate, and race, and to interpret everything in Mediterranean terms, we forget all about the south pole.

It is true that the southern hemisphere has less land area, the sea predominates, hence no art of the South reaching around the world is to be expected there. But in connection with the Americas the question arises whether North and true South are not fundamentally alike for the history of art, that is, the colder parts of the earth which contrast with the warmer equatorial regions; for in South America there have been high civilizations right at the equator, a fact which is all the more surprising because up to the present nothing of the sort has been found in Africa, even at high altitudes. To be sure, we suppose that Africa must once have been the main center of a palaeolithic civilization and art, of which we have the diffusion first in the caverns of Altamira and in Southern France and later, but apparently under some Northern influences, in ancient Egypt. Unlike the art of the North this art of the South has a pronounced tendency to representation. The human form itself comes to supplant the animals of the chase, which were so exactly represented as to be of use even to modern zoölogy.

8. I intend to discuss these in a future publication,

Die bildende Kunst Asiens in Stichproben, ihr Wesen und ihre Entwicklung.

The tropical art of America presents a somewhat different appearance. While the architecture of Africa originated from the cave, as is still evident enough in the temple architecture of Egypt, in America architecture began with building in wood; the temples of the Mayas are indisputable evidence though not a single building in wood is preserved. What is preserved, however, namely buildings with mortar and rubble walls veneered with slabs of stone, shows a method of building intelligible only in terms of a preceding architecture in wood. The same holds for the decorative treatment of these buildings. Of course, one must not confuse the Central American architecture with the megalithic monuments in the Andes represented especially by the great ruins of Tiahuanaco. What I have in mind is exclusively the temples of Central America, which are grouped about pyramids or placed on them. Even then there is a considerable difference between the buildings with decoration on the exterior and those, as at Mitla, with interior walls covered with the geometrical endless patterns that are so common throughout the art of the North.

The hardest thing to understand is the use of the human figure in art throughout tropical America, that is, both in Central America and in the Andes. Perhaps it is the peculiarity of these human forms that does most to frighten art historians away from the study of the art of ancient America. The spirit of the architecture is much more readily grasped, but through the recent efforts to date the inscriptions, even if they cannot be read, even the figure art is beginning to attract attention (the human head as well as an animal form appears in the painted decoration from a Mayan vase reproduced as cover design and tailpiece of this magazine). And that the methods of art history can be applied to it with profit is shown by such studies as those of Herbert J. Spinden.

I should like to emphasize the desirability of first analyzing the character of this ancient American art and next of interpreting it in terms of the permanent conditions of geography, climate, and race from which it proceeded.⁹ When reasonable clarity has been reached in these matters we can begin to inquire what has voluntarily been made out of the pre-established conditions and how they have been exploited. Last of all should come those far-reaching investigations with which unfortunately we are always tempted to begin, specifically the attempt to pass judgment on the relations of ancient American art (with the character of which we are still insufficiently familiar) to the art of Europe, Asia, and Africa.

All the nonsense that has been published since A. Eichorn's *Neu und die Hohe Wissenschaft der architektonischen und künstlerischen Composition bei den Majavölkern und deren Descendenten und Schülern*, Berlin, 1896, only serves to show how little is known of the art, writing, and language of the ancient inhabitants of the Americas. Though I see here and there striking analogies, I should not wish at the present time to go any further than to set up, as I have done in this article, the tentative hypothesis that the aboriginal art of North America has some connections, as yet undetermined, with Asia to the west and with Northern Europe to the east. As mentioned above North America spreads out sufficiently to approach the other land areas of the northern hemisphere.

9. For an outline of method I refer to my book which

has just appeared, *Forschung und Erziehung, der Neuaufbau der Universität als Grundlage aller Schulverbesserung*.

It is quite different with Central and South America. Their more complete isolation is to be assumed because of their extension from north to south and their relative narrowness east and west. Their disposition should make the student cautious about any assumption of relationships. Take the matter of animal ornament, for instance. It is surprising how far south this ornament goes, clear to the vases of Tiahuanaco. I suspect that the land route from the north along the coast is, however, a more probable explanation than the bridges from Southern Asia or Africa that have been proposed.

REVIEWS

DIE ELFENBEINSCULPTUREN AUS DER ROMANISCHEN ZEIT (XI.-XIII. JAHRHUNDERT). By Adolph Goldschmidt. Vol. IV. 71 pp., 79 pls.; 43 figs. Berlin, Bruno Cassirer, 1926 (Denkmäler der deutschen Kunst, herausgegeben vom deutschen Verein für Kunsthissenschaft, II. Sektion: Plastik, 4. Abteilung.)

There is no other European scholar who has done so much to clarify our knowledge of the evolution of mediaeval art between the ninth and thirteenth centuries as Professor Adolph Goldschmidt of the University of Berlin. His scientific investigations of the Carolingian schools and their influence during the ninth, tenth, and eleventh centuries have brought new schools to light and centered the attention of mediaeval scholars on the art of the centuries which had been almost completely ignored. Not only as a scholar but as a teacher he has made a memorable and lasting contribution to the field of mediaeval studies. The sound principles of scholarship and the high standard of scientific research taught in his seminar at Berlin have borne rich fruit in a long list of productive pupils, of whom the following have taken their degrees under him: Arthur Haseloff, Georg Swarzenski, Johnny Roosval, Albert Boeckler, Otto Homburger, Richard Merton, Ernst Bange, E. Heinrich Zimmermann, Richard Hamann, Eckart von Sydow, Axel L. Romdahl, Hans Jantzen, Alfred Wolters, Werner Noack, August Feigel, Paul Post, Burkard Meier, Hermann Giesau, August Fink, Ernst Gall, Hans Börger, Erwin Panofsky, E. A. Brinkmann, Hans Dreyer.

Although Dr. Goldschmidt has published countless books and scientific articles in the field of mediaeval sculpture and illuminated manuscripts, his name will always be most closely associated with the field of mediaeval ivory carving. The importance to mediaeval studies of his monumental corpus of ivory carving in Europe from the Carolingian period to the thirteenth century cannot be overestimated. The first volume, which appeared before the war, was soon followed by two others and in these the Carolingian and German Romanesque schools were covered. The recent publication of the fourth and last volume now furnishes the reader with an invaluable series of ivories carved, for the most part, between the eleventh and the thirteenth century, in England, France, Belgium, and Spain.

Until recently scholars were unaware of the importance of English monastic foundations for ivory carving during the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and ivories of English origin were ascribed to almost any country in Europe except England. Working on clues furnished by his teacher Goldschmidt, Dr. Otto Homburger of Karlsruhe made a careful examination of the ivories and illuminated manuscripts of the Winchester school and, basing his arguments on such manuscripts as the Benedictional of Aethelwold, proved beyond any doubt that an important school of early ivory carving existed in England (*Die Anfänge der Malschule von Winchester*, 1912).

It is not always easy to distinguish clearly between the mediaeval schools of England, northern France, and Belgium. The existence in the Romanesque period of a similar style on both sides of the English Channel suggests the designation "Channel School." Goldschmidt, however, has assigned a considerable number of ivories to England. These show a linear style with drapery treated in zigzag folds, vegetable ornament with rich palmettes, and a restless, nervous treatment of the whole. This English style spread to northern France and Belgium and, on the basis of manuscripts executed at Rouen, St. Omer, Boulogne, and Stavelot, it has been possible to assign a group of ivories to the north French and Belgian schools. Among those objects which can be ascribed to the "Channel School," but the origin of which cannot be localized definitely on either side of the Channel, is a fragment of a cross, carved in walrus, now in the Pierpont Morgan collection at the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, no. 1).

About the year 1100 a distinct change in style appears in the ivories of the "Channel School" and the new style continues until the thirteenth century. The foliage becomes heavier; animal forms become more naturalistic and are treated separately from the foliage; the linear drapery style becomes more plastic; and there is less movement. This transformation, which is also found in such illuminated manuscripts as the Lansdowne Psalter, is even more evident on the Continent than in the island monasteries, and can be illustrated by croziers in the Museo Nazionale, Florence, and the Victoria and Albert Museum, by a liturgical comb in the British Museum, by the beautiful plaque of the Adoration of the Magi in the Victoria and Albert Museum, and by other secular and religious utensils, such as croziers, pyxes, horns, and book-covers.

The various attempts which have been made by others to bring together the errant examples of Spanish ivory carving now widely scattered in European and American museums have given but an imperfect and incomplete picture; Goldschmidt has now assembled so many examples that it is finally possible to study the Spanish school as a whole and to draw definite conclusions as to the evolution of style. Ivory carving in the Peninsula appears to have been confined to the provinces of Castile and Leon; no examples can be attributed to Catalonia and no mention is made of ivory carving in Catalan documents. In the southern districts of Spain countless Moslem objects were produced in ivory, such as caskets and perfume boxes, but these are usually carved with an all-over pattern and the human figure plays a relatively small rôle. The author designates the entire north Spanish production as Castilian, since in most cases the place of origin is not fixed, and he includes within this category all objects which may have originated in the geographical area between Leon on the west and Aragon on the east.

Three successive styles of ivory carving can be distinguished in Spain and, as in the case of other European

schools, the author has made his classification on the basis of illuminated manuscripts. The first style, formed toward the end of the tenth century, corresponds to the Mozarabic manuscripts, such as the Vigilanus Codex in the Escorial Library and the early copies of the Beatus Commentaries. The figures are in flat relief and crudely drawn, with round contours and little attention to naturalistic representation. The heads are egg-shaped and usually shown in front view; the nose is delineated with two simple strokes. The drapery is treated in a summary fashion, falling in parallel folds and enlivened by points and crosshatching. The ornament is of the simplest type and consists almost entirely of geometric patterns: circles, lozenges, and zigzag bands. To this small group belong such ivories as the early diptych in the British Museum, a fragment of a casket in the Cluny Museum, the Escorial casket, a pyxis at Nuremberg, and a recent acquisition in the Pitcairn collection at Bryn Athyn, Pennsylvania (Goldschmidt, no. 80). These "Mozarabic" examples form a well-defined group and later survivals of this type are found in the Peninsula in stone sculpture, as shown by a small relief in the Juñyer collection at Barcelona (Fig. 1), where there are the same egg-shaped faces, summary treatment of drapery, and figure style.

In the second style of Spanish Romanesque ivories, dating from the middle of the eleventh century, the human figure is treated more realistically. The hair is no longer matted down on the skull but partly shades the face; the heads are depicted with a curving nose, well-modeled lips, and eyes that are sunk more deeply into the sockets. The drapery is much better articulated; mantle and tunic are clearly differentiated and fall in expressive folds over the knees. Among the important monuments of this second period are the ivory crucifix in the Archaeological Museum at Madrid (cf. reproduction of detail in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 2, 1925, fig. 13), which was donated by King Ferdinand I of Castile to the Colegiata of S. Isidoro, Leon, the casket of the Beatitudes at Madrid, the casket of St. Vincent still in the treasury of S. Isidoro (cf. Julio Pérez Llamares, *El Tesoro de la R. Colegiata de San Isidoro de León*, pp. 129 ff.), and a relief with an enthroned Christ at Paris (cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 38, p. 56).

Goldschmidt believes that the reliquary shrine of St. Aemilianus in the church of S. Millán de la Cogolla was executed at Cogolla and he dates it about the year 1070 (cf. also Porter in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, p. 237, note 6), slightly earlier than Gómez-Moreno (*Iglesias Mozárabes*, p. 295), who places it in the year 1076. Most of the ivory reliefs can still be seen on the shrine at S. Millán de la Cogolla, but Goldschmidt incorrectly places one of them (no. 85), *Majestas Domini*, in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York. When I published this recently (*The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 2, fig. 15), the caption under the illustration was misleading, and one might believe that the relief was still at S. Millán. The relief, however, left Spain early in the nineteenth century. It entered the Spitzer collection (no. 28) and was later in the collection of Julius Campe at Hamburg and is now in the collection of Mr. Otto H. Kahn of New York. The ivory itself measures 27 cm. in height and 13.5 cm. in width, and the mandorla (2 cm. wide), which surrounds it, is not the original frame in gold and silver, as Goldschmidt states, but a modern

wooden frame painted to imitate metal work. With the head and right arm of the figure carved completely in the round, this *Majestas Domini* is unquestionably the most imposing example of early Spanish ivory carving in America.

That occasional examples of monumental sculpture from the province of Leon can also be assigned to this period is shown by the tomb of Alfonso (†1093), son of the celebrated Count Pedro Assúrez and Eilona. This valuable monument from the local cemetery in Sahagún has recently been purchased and brought to America by Professor A. Kingsley Porter, who has donated it to the Fogg Art Museum of Harvard University (cf. Porter in *The Art Bulletin*, VIII, 4, figs. 5-8, pp. 243-244; Gómez-Moreno, *Catálogo monumental de España, Provincia de León*, Madrid, 1925, pp. 348-350).

Goldschmidt is to be congratulated on the additions he has made to this second or "transitional" group of Spanish ivory carvings. It is impossible, however, to agree with his explanation of the transformation in style during the second half of the eleventh century. "Es ist ein vollständig neuer Charakter eingedrungen, der offenbar von den Klöstern Kataloniens herzuleiten ist, besonders von Ripoll, wo die reich illustrierten Bibeln von Farfa und von Roda in der ersten Hälfte des XI. Jahrhunderts entstanden sind, zu denen auch die Reliefs der dortigen Kirchenfassade in enger Beziehung stehen." The linear style in each manuscript as the Bible of Roda represents an infiltration of French tradition, but there is no evidence that this style passed into Castile from the eastern realms, whereas there is much evidence that French influence penetrated Castile direct from Cluny and other monastic centers in France.

This raises the general question of influences between Spain and France from the ninth to the thirteenth century, and it may not be out of place to comment briefly on some of the theories that have been put forth on this subject. Porter has probably gone farther than anyone else in stressing stylistic influences of Spain on France (school of Languedoc), especially during the eleventh and twelfth centuries. His theory would seem, however, in complete disagreement with the history of the general evolution of mediaeval Spanish style. It is quite true that certain Spanish motifs passed at an early date from Spain into France. As early as the second half of the ninth century Spanish monks came to Lyons; Visigothic marginalia are found in a Fleury manuscript and Visigothic notes and supplements are frequently found in Carolingian manuscripts. Several years ago I brought together a considerable amount of evidence to show that there was a constant infiltration of ornamental patterns, largely derived from Moslem sources, from the Peninsula into France (*The Stucco Altar-Frontals of Catalonia*, in *Art Studies*, II, pp. 73 ff.). M. Mâle has also traced the spread of certain iconographic features peculiar to the Beatus manuscripts (*L'art religieux du XII siècle en France*, pp. 4 ff.). These influences, however, were not stylistic but were limited to iconography and ornament.

In the same manner Carolingian ornament and iconography penetrated into Castile. In Mozarabic Spain this influence is apparent during the second half of the tenth century and is clearly shown in such manuscripts as the Codex Vigilanus, the Aemilianensis, and the Gerona Beatus. A single illustration of this is the use of the Tours



FIG. 1—Barcelona, Junyer Collection: *Reliefs on Two Sides of a Stone*



FIG. 3—*Combined Photograph of León Crucifix and Arms of a
Mozarabic Ivory Cross in the Louvre (Photo Mas)*



FIG. 2—*Paris, Bibl. Nat.: Page from Limoges Bible
XII Century*

type of the *Majestas Domini* seated on the globe with enclosing lozenge, a misunderstood treatment of that found in such Tours manuscripts as the Bible of Moutier-Grandval and the Vivien Bible (cf. *The Art Bulletin*, VI, 2, fig. 28, p. 52).

Iconographic and ornamental motifs passed freely in both directions between France and Castile, but this is not true of figure and drapery style. The figure and drapery style found in ninth and tenth century Mozarabic manuscripts is the old style of southern Europe and is based on late Latin models. The same style existed in France until the end of the eighth century, but in central and northern France it was discarded and superseded in the ninth century by the new style which appeared during the Carolingian Renaissance. In Mozarabic Spain, however, the archaic and *retardataire* style persisted until the end of the eleventh century and it is found even in the early twelfth century, in such isolated instances as the British Museum Beatus from Silos, which was completed in the year 1109. This Mozarabic style, in which the human figure is considered merely as an ornamental unit and in which the draperies hang in heavy straight lines, has nothing in common with the figure and drapery style found in French art during the tenth and eleventh centuries. Although occasional monuments in southern France might be cited which show a similar treatment of the human figure and drapery, such monuments must be regarded as a late persistence of traditions inherited from the Merovingian period rather than as evidence of Mozarabic influence from Spain.

One need only call attention to the parallel history of "Visigothic" script. An early example of the survival of late Latin script is found in the insular hands of Ireland, and the Beneventan script of southern Italy, which continued in use as late as the eleventh century, shows an evolution of script and figure style parallel to that in Spain. In France, on the other hand, the Carolingian reform of the ninth century, centering at Tours, speedily replaced the Merovingian hands with a new and beautiful Caroline script. Henceforth the history of palaeography in Italy and Spain shows the gradual modification of the old Latin script in the direction of the Turonian form.

As far as drapery and figure style are concerned the direction of influence during the late eleventh and twelfth centuries was from France into Castile, and not the reverse. This influence began during the reign of Ferdinand I (1033-1065) and went much farther under his successor, Alfonso VI. Under Ferdinand I the monastery of Sahagún was reformed by monks from Cluny, and Alfonso VI petitioned the pope and the abbot of Cluny for ecclesiastics to reestablish discipline and learning in the churches and abbeys of his realm. Bernard de Sédirac, a French monk, who was first placed at the head of the monastery of Sahagún and later appointed archbishop of Toledo, became one of the most powerful figures during the reign of Alfonso VI. This king of Castile, in fact, surrounded himself with French monks, many of whom came from Cluny, and the majority of Castilian monasteries were governed by French abbots. The wide extent of French ecclesiastical influence in the provinces of Leon and Castile during the Romanesque period has already been clearly shown by M. Paul Deschamps (*Notes sur la*

sculpture romane en Languedoc et dans le nord de l'Espagne, in *Bull. Mon.*, LXXXII, 1923, pp. 309 ff.).

This great administrative and ecclesiastical change was followed in the field of art by a wholesale importation of French models into Leon and Castile. The native Mozarabic ritual was discarded and Spanish monks copied French liturgical manuscripts written in Carolingian script. The provinces of Leon and Castile were inundated by a wave of French influence and the older Mozarabic style disappeared completely. Henceforth the figure and drapery style in Spanish art becomes French, and this is not only true of the illuminated manuscripts but of all forms of artistic activity, of architecture, sculpture, ivory carving, gold and silver work, and mural painting. This change, however, did not come from Ripoll or monastic foundations in Catalonia, as Goldschmidt infers, but from Cluny and other important ecclesiastical centers in France.

With the third period of ivory carving in Spain, which Goldschmidt dates from the year 1100, the author again returns to sure ground. "Gegen 1100 beginnt dann eine direkte Beziehung zu Frankreich sich mehr und mehr geltend zu machen." He correctly associates the style of the shrine of St. Felix at S. Millán de la Cogolla with the sculptured reliefs in the cloister of S. Domingo de Silos and publishes an unusually beautiful plaque in the Fidgor collection at Vienna. He also associates correctly the panel from an ivory diptych in the Pierpont Morgan collection in the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, no. 108) with the sculpture at Moissac, Souillac, and Toulouse. He might have gone even further and pointed out the close relationship between this plaque and certain manuscripts of the school of Limoges, such as the Limoges Bible at Paris (Fig. 2), where there is the same nervous handling of the drapery and the same treatment of the swirling tunic which flies up above the ankles as at Souillac.

One of the earliest and finest of this group of Spanish ivories is the crucifix in the Museum of S. Marco, Leon, which came from the convent of Garrizo, province of Leon. Goldschmidt has not mentioned the interesting history in connection with this object. Before the crucifix entered the Museum of S. Marco it fell into the hands of a Spanish peasant. Struck by the decorative quality of the head of Christ, the peasant sawed it from the torso and mounted the head on the top of his walking stick and for years carried the stick with its unique embellishment about the city of Leon. When the mutilated torso of the crucifix was placed in the Museum of S. Marco, someone recalled the similarity between the body and the head of the walking stick. The peasant was persuaded to part with his object for a few pesetas and the head was restored to its rightful position. The crucifix is now mounted on a modern wooden cross and Goldschmidt remarks that there is no evidence that this is to be associated with the two arms of an ivory cross in the Louvre. No one, I believe, has seriously put forth this opinion; the suggestion arises from a clever "faked" photograph (Fig. 3) made by Mas of Barcelona for his own amusement and that of his friends.

It is inevitable that there should appear from time to time ivory carvings to supplement those in Goldschmidt's book. One of these is a beautiful ivory relief in the collection of Mr. John Nicholas Brown, now on loan at the Fogg Art Museum, Harvard University (Fig. 7).

When it was first shown to me in the summer of 1926 at Madrid I was told that it came from a monastery in the province of Leon. This indication of provenance at least agrees with the style of the work. The plaque measures 15.5 cm. in height, and the figure is seated on a cushioned throne which measures 7 cm. across the back. He holds a scroll in the left hand and blesses with the right. His bare feet rest on a curving suppedaneum, or footstool. A long tunic, bordered at the neck with a lozenge pattern, reaches to the ankles and the mantle is draped over both shoulders and falls below the knees. The beard and hair are carved in a series of braids drawn over the skull in much the same manner as on the ivory crucifix in the Museum of S. Marco at Leon. The identity of the figure cannot be determined with certainty but the plain nimbus would indicate an apostle rather than Christ. The background has been cut away but the plaque was undoubtedly one of a series of figures applied to a shrine and during recent years was held in position by nails or studs on either side of the shoulders and ankles.

That this piece was probably part of a shrine rather than a book-cover is indicated by the existence of similar pieces. Quite recently (1927) a second plaque unquestionably belonging to the same series has entered the art market (Fig. 8). The relief measures 16 cm. in height. An apostle, seated in strict frontality, wears a nimbus and holds a book in his right hand, which is veiled by his mantle. The treatment of the eyes, nose, mouth, and beard is identical with that in the Brown collection, the tunic shows the same curving folds across the chest, and the feet rest on the same type of curving suppedaneum. He holds a book instead of a rotulus and both tunic and mantle are encircled with an embroidered border which does not appear on the Brown relief. The background has also been barbarously cut away, a part of the nimbus has been lost, and the hole above the left shoulder is undoubtedly modern.

A third plaque which belongs to this series is the seated figure of St. Peter in the Pitcairn collection. This relief, which Goldschmidt published (no. 82), measures 14.5 cm. in height. The seated St. Peter holds a book on his left knee and holds the double keys in his right hand. The nimbus is surrounded by rope ornament and the hair is treated in a series of locks ending in fishhook spirals. The bearded face is broader than in the two preceding examples, but the eyes, nose, and mouth are carved in the same manner. The border of the mantle is embroidered with pearl ornament and the zigzag design on the lower edge of the mantle is similar to that on the neck of the tunic in Fig. 8. Like the preceding pieces this has been cut away from the background and a small fragment of hair at the left shows that the throne on which the apostle was seated was covered with a fur robe.

Stylistically these reliefs show some points of contact with the much earlier (1059) casket of St. Vincent in the treasury of S. Isidoro, Leon (Goldschmidt, no. 81). The reliefs are more advanced, however, and the drapery and figure style is even more clearly reflected in twelfth century examples, such as the Morgan plaque (Goldschmidt, no. 108). Goldschmidt mentions a resemblance between the Pitcairn ivory and the frescoes in the Panteón de los Reyes at S. Isidoro, Leon, which were executed during the reign of Ferdinand II (1157-1188). Such a date conforms with

the style of these three ivory reliefs and they can safely be assigned to the school of Leon.

Another ivory carving not included among Goldschmidt's examples of the Romanesque Spanish school is a small relief (Fig. 4) exhibited for the past ten years in the Metropolitan Museum of Art at New York (Accession no. 17.190.40). This object has been well known to scholars for it was published in 1920 by Mr. Joseph Breck, the assistant director of the Metropolitan Museum, who dated the relief "about the middle of the eleventh century" and described it as "a piece of exceptional importance" (Joseph Breck, *Spanish Ivories of the XI and XII Centuries in the Pierpont Morgan Collection*, in *A. J. A.*, XXIV, 1920, fig. 2, pp. 220-223). But so far as I have observed, Professor A. Kingsley Porter is the only other American scholar who has accepted the ivory relief as Spanish work of the eleventh century and he was less impressed with the style of the work: "The ornamental carving, the draperies, the hands and feet are certainly identical in the two works. The faces of the New York book-cover are, however, very inferior to those of the Madrid Christ: nor is the quality of even the decorative parts so fine" (*Romanesque Sculpture of the Pilgrimage Roads*, 1922, I, pp. 39-40, pl. 665).

We can best begin our discussion of this relief by an examination of Mr. Breck's description (*loc. cit.*). "In the Morgan Collection is a plaque measuring 5 5/8 inches in height by 3 1/2 inches in width, which is undoubtedly by the same artist who carved the San Isidoro crucifix. The technique is the same. The figure of Christ and the Symbols of the Evangelists are repeated practically without change. The two birds in foliated scrolls in the upper border of the Morgan plaque and the corresponding design of confronted animals in the lower border are found on the front of the San Isidoro crucifix at the extremities of the lateral arms. The animals and men in the rinceaux of the side borders of the Morgan plaque have the closest analogies with similar representations on the crucifix. The tesselated background is found on both pieces. The Morgan plaque, which was evidently made for a book-cover, to judge from the holes for attachment surrounded by vine wreaths in the four corners of the plaque, is inscribed on the lower margin: IHC H(sic) AZARENVS REX IVDEORVM(M).

"On either side of the cross in the Morgan ivory stand the Virgin and St. John; above the lateral arms of the cross are symbolic representations of the sun and moon; above the head of Christ is an angel. These additional figures, which naturally do not appear on the San Isidoro ivory, indicate that, for the Crucifixion at least, the carver followed a Byzantine model. The influence of Musulman art is apparent, however, in the technique of the carving, in the leaf and animal forms, and in the general character of the decoration. The Morgan plaque may be dated, through its affinity to the San Isidoro ivory, about the middle of the eleventh century. It is a piece of exceptional importance, not only because of the rarity of early Spanish ivories, but also on account of its association with the celebrated crucifix which Ferdinand and Sancha presented in 1063 to the Church of San Isidoro at Leon."

It is quite true, as Mr. Breck has noted, that the Metropolitan relief (Fig. 4) bears the "closest analogies with similar representations on the crucifix." In fact, such close



FIG. 5—Paris, Cluny Museum: *Italo-Byzantine Ivory*



FIG. 4—New York, Metropolitan Museum of Art:
Pseudo-Spanish Ivory

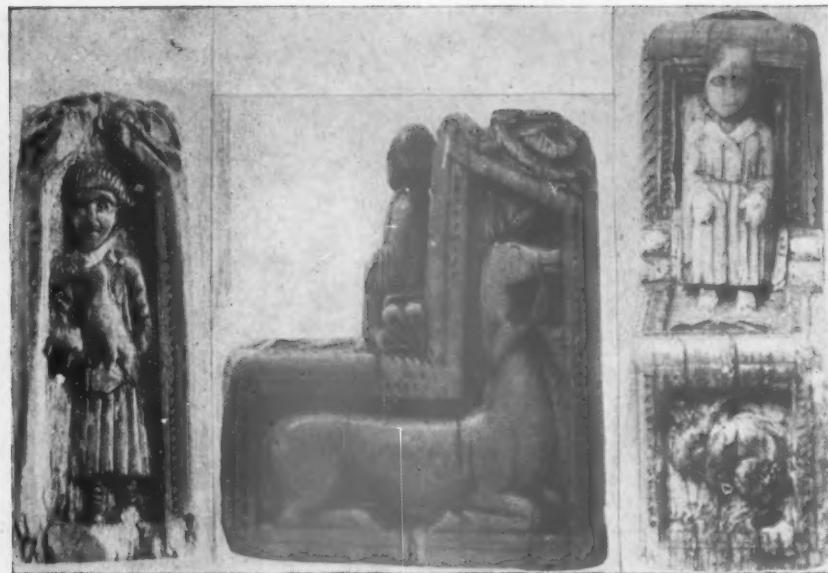


FIG. 6—New York, Warren Templeton Collection: Mozarabic Ivory Chess Piece



FIG. 7—Cambridge, Fogg Art Museum: Spanish Ivory Plaque



FIG. 8—New York, Demotte Collection: Spanish Ivory Plaque

analogies between the figure of Christ, the evangelistic symbols, the confronted birds in foliated scrolls, and the animals and men in the rinceaux of the side borders, raise legitimate doubts as to the genuineness of the Metropolitan relief. Mr. Breck notes that the figures of the Virgin and St. John, the symbolic representations of the sun and moon, and the angel above the head of Christ do not appear on the Madrid crucifix and surmises that "the carver followed a Byzantine model." This surmise was not far wrong since such details as the sun, moon, and angel were taken directly from the central panel of a large Italo-Byzantine ivory book-cover in the Cluny Museum at Paris (Fig. 5), to which Dr. Goldschmidt (no. 147) has called my attention. From this object, which he places in the late twelfth or early thirteenth century and assigns tentatively to the school of Ravenna, the artist has slavishly copied even the blood dripping from the hands of Christ.

In the Metropolitan relief the Virgin rests her left elbow on her right hand and does not reach forward to touch the cross as in the Cluny ivory, and St. John holds a book in the left hand, whereas in the Cluny example the left hand is covered by the mantle. This change, however, can also be readily explained, for the author of the pseudo-Spanish ivory could easily have followed such a manuscript model as the Catalan missal from Arles-sur-Tech, now in the Municipal Library at Perpignan. It is also interesting to note that the artist was not satisfied with the simplicity of the Cluny example, but has introduced a tessellated background behind the figures. He has also decorated the cross with a lozenge motif, enlivened the halos of the Virgin and St. John with ornament and embellished the crossed nimbus of Christ with a series of meaningless crosses. He has placed the Latin inscription not above the head of the Saviour but at His feet!

It is quite obvious, then, that the Metropolitan relief is not genuine. It has probably been baked to give it the appearance of age and is covered with artificial cracks, which might have been obtained by throwing the ivory on the floor and stepping on it. Henceforth this piece must be ascribed not to an eleventh century Spanish school of Leon but to some unknown nineteenth century forger of the "school of the Seine."

Dr. Goldschmidt turns from Spain to Italy and shows that Italy plays a relatively unimportant rôle in the field of every mediaeval ivory carving. Little independence is shown and the early works are governed almost entirely by East Christian and Arabic influences. An exception is the Rambona diptych (c. 900 A. D.), which is far inferior in quality to contemporary work by French and German artists. During the eleventh century there was some activity in southern Italy; the outstanding monument is the ivory antependium of Salerno, on the basis of which other ivory reliefs are attributable to this school, including a leaf from a diptych now in the Pierpont Morgan collection in the Metropolitan Museum (Goldschmidt, no. 143). Many of the south Italian ivories (nos. 127, 138, 139) show Byzantine influences, such as the use of the diptych form and of Byzantine iconographic features, but the figure and drapery style of the works in this region are Italian and not Byzantine in origin. The rich architectural backgrounds with domed cupolas and double columns are derived from Saracenic architecture, examples of which

existed in Sicily and in lower Italy. The manner in which the hair falls in three locks over the shoulder is another such detail not found in Byzantine or in northern work.

For some of the Salerno antependium scenes (nos. 126, 128, 130) Goldschmidt finds earlier models in a series of ivory reliefs with the legend of St. Mark (nos. 124, 312), and he has followed Eric Maclagan's dating of these reliefs which, according to Maclagan, ornamented the bishop's throne from Alexandria, presented about the year 600 by the Emperor Heraclius to the cathedral of Grado. Goldschmidt believes that the Salerno antependium originally decorated a bishop's throne, that this has been remade and the Salerno example possibly copied from an earlier original from Alexandria. Alexandrian ivory carvers probably worked in Italy in the seventh century and after the capture of Alexandria by the Arabs many Christian artists emigrated from Egypt. In the eleventh century artists with strong Moslem traditions also appear to have come to southern Italy. Although it is not yet possible to localize the centers of ivory carving in southern Italy with certainty Salerno and Amalfi are possible suggestions.

One of the most valuable portions of the book is that which brings together all the mediaeval examples of chess pieces. Although part of these were issued in earlier volumes of the series, the author has in some cases repeated them, so that the reader now has all the material together. With the exception of Oriental pieces carved from rock, crystal, or stone, the majority of early mediaeval chess pieces were carved from ivory, walrus, or bone, and the author takes this opportunity to make a study of the form and use of these chess pieces. India is generally regarded as the land in which chess pieces were first used in a game known as *chaturanga*, which included the chief figures of the army: the king, field marshal, elephants, horsemen, war chariot, and foot soldiers. From India the game was introduced into Persia and it then spread over the entire Moslem world. The game was especially popular among the Arabs, who also used six pieces, which were not, however, commonly carved with representations of human figures. The author gives an interesting description of the pawns used by the Arabs, and reproduces several Eastern examples. The third figure in the game was the Elephant (*al-fil* in Arabic, *anfin* in French), on which two men sat, either as the driver with the elephant staff or as a guard, as well as the driver who sat on the elephant's head (nos. 170, 171). The chess pieces not decorated with human figures were widely dispersed. The game was brought to Europe by the Arabs, and southern Spain seems to have been the place from which many of these pieces came. Chess pieces which have Arabic forms are frequently represented in European manuscripts, such as the Book of Chess written for Alfonso the Learned in 1283. The examples collected by the author are unusually numerous and include pieces found in England, Scotland, Norway, Sweden, and Denmark, as well as in France, Germany, and Spain. In the thirteenth century the pieces were more elaborately carved and more decorative scenes were depicted instead of the earlier simple representations. In the fourteenth century kings, queens, and bishops were often seated on richly carved thrones.

A chess piece which Goldschmidt has overlooked is the

Spanish example illustrated in Fig. 6. For many years this was in the collection of the Count of Almenas at Madrid, and it was recently acquired (1927) by Mr. Warren Templeton at the New York sale of the Almenas collection (Mildred Stapley Byne and Arthur Byne, *Catalogue of the Spanish Collection of the Conde de las Almenas*, American Art Association, New York City, January 1927, no. 324 pp. 166-167). This *al-fil*, or *arfil*, was undoubtedly a king or vizier in the game of chess (not a bishop as stated in the sale catalogue). The Arabic game included not only a king but a chess piece known as the "vizier" and in this example (Fig. 6) the vizier, or king (who does not wear a crown in the Moslem world), is seated on a high throne. He wears a simple tunic and both hands rest on his knees. A crouching rabbit is depicted on the lower projecting face of the ivory; a gazelle with a leafy sprig in its mouth is carved on each of the sides. A standing beardless figure, clad in a tunic and holding a falcon on his left wrist, is represented on the taller, or rear, end, and above him the sloping top is decorated with a foliate pattern. Each of the fields is bordered by a rope pattern. This ivory has a counterpart in the Fuld collection at Frankfurt (Goldschmidt, no. 251), where an ibis is shown on the lower projecting face of the ivory and a standing warrior with circular shield and lance is depicted on the back. Otherwise the two pieces are identical.

The genuineness of both the Almenas and Frankfurt examples has recently been questioned by Gómez-Moreno (*Los marfiles cordobeses y sus derivaciones* in *Archivo Español de arte y arqueología*, año 1927, no. 9, p. 238). According to Gómez-Moreno the Almenas ivory left Valencia in 1912 and he suspects this as the work of Pallás, a famous forger of Spanish and Hispano-Moresque ivories. The Frankfurt chess piece was bought in 1909 at Valladolid by an art dealer, who was told that it came from Leon, and it passed later into the hands of the art dealer Brauer. The poor quality of carving of both pieces, which is inferior to any other ivory carvings from Cordova, and the fact that these two pieces are almost identical, lead the Madrid scholar to conclude that both examples are modern forgeries. If this is true a possible model may have been an ivory chess piece in the Louvre (Goldschmidt, no. 169). In this Paris example, which Goldschmidt (pp. 47-48) dates about 1100 and assigns to southern Italy, there is the same summary treatment of the human figure and one of the attendants carries a falcon on his wrist.

Walter W. S. Cook

REMBRANDTOVO ZVĚSTOVÁNÍ P. MARIE. By Vincenc Kramář. Also a German Translation by Karl Koydl published separately (MARIAE VERKÜNDIGUNG VON REMBRANDT, 46 pp.). Bibliothek der Gemäldegalerie der Gesellschaft patriotischer Kunstmfreunde in Böhmen. Vol. I. 40 pp.; 1 pl.; 7 figs. Prague, Miloš Prochážka, 1926.

A signed fragment of an Annunciation by Rembrandt was acquired in 1923 for the Gallery of the Bohemian Gesellschaft patriotischer Kunstmfreunde. In the first volume of a series of publications by that institution Vincenc Kramář has made a thorough study of the fragment and of drawings of the same subject which have been attributed to Rembrandt.

First the author gives an account of various treatments of the Annunciation by other artists and a comparison of them with Rembrandt's very individual interpretation. Then follows a minute analysis of the handling of light, color, and form in the Prague picture, resulting in the conclusion that this painting belongs to Rembrandt's late period, about 1650. The remainder, and larger part, of the essay takes up in detailed manner drawings by Rembrandt and his school with the purpose of tracing the development of the theme of the Annunciation that reaches its fulfillment in the painting. The conclusions reached are as follows: first, that drawing no. 739 in the Bremen Kunsthalle is one of Rembrandt's sketches from which the painting developed, though it is impossible to decide whether it was made in preparation for the painting or was an independent composition; secondly, that the picture and the drawing are contemporary; thirdly, that there was an imitator of Rembrandt's drawings to whom Rembrandtesque works preserved in the Albertina (no. 8785) and in the Gay collection (Paris) are attributable; and fourthly, that a similar attribution seems appropriate for the drawings in Weimar and Besançon, though there is the bare possibility Rembrandt himself might have produced these drawings in the beginning of the thirties.

The Gesellschaft patriotischer Kunstmfreunde is to be congratulated both on its picture and on its new publication. That the latter is issued also in a German translation reveals unexpected good judgment and will greatly increase the number of foreign readers, a result which the best kind of patriots everywhere will applaud.

Miriam Flick

THE ART IN PAINTING. By Albert C. Barnes. 530 pp., including 106 illustrations. 8vo. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1925.

When Albert C. Barnes took the "sting" out of silver nitrate and patented his product, argyrol, his aid to the medical profession was accompanied by increased riches for himself. Much of this money was used in collecting paintings by artists of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The collection, which is large and valuable, is in a gallery attached to the Barnes' home at Merion, Pennsylvania, and constitutes the center of the Barnes Foundation.

This foundation, Mr. Barnes says, is essentially an educational institution, and its publications justify such an assertion. In one of these, *The Art in Painting*, Mr. Barnes, through the expression of his layman ideas, seeks to reveal the truth about painting. This book, in which "no important movement and no really first-class artist has been entirely left out of account in the general evaluations" (p. 10), presents a "systematic study . . . extended over a period of fifteen years" (p. 9). It aims "to correlate in the simplest possible form the main principles that underlie the intelligent appreciation of the paintings of all periods of time" (p. 21). It assumes a three-fold nature: first, it is an effort "to show, briefly, what is involved in aesthetic experience in general; after that, to give an account of the principles by which painting may be judged and so intelligently enjoyed; finally,

to illustrate those principles by applying them to particular painters and tendencies in painting" (p. 21).

To cover such a large field in one volume Mr. Barnes does not attempt a scholarly condensation but eliminates much matter by writing in a manner that suggests casual thinking about a particular enthusiasm. Book I, which deals with aesthetics, and Book II, which deals with the so-called elements (principles) of painting, constitute the theoretical part of his volume. Book III, *The Traditions of Painting*, Book IV, *Modern Painting*, and Book V, *Contemporary Painting*, constitute the half-historical part, a kind of survey which writers on the theory of art seem to find it hard to avoid, however much they may punctuate their writings with strictures on art historians. This part, indeed, which for the purpose of Mr. Barnes' book might seem to be of less importance, and which is only the third of the purposes listed above, is given about three times as much room as aesthetics and principles together.

In Book I Mr. Barnes attempts to explain what is involved in aesthetic experience. Under the major heading, *The Aesthetic Values of Painting*, he lists seven: Art and Subject-Matter, The Nature of Form, Form and Technique, Plastic and Other Values, Form and Matter, Plastic Art and Decoration, and Quality in Painting. This gamut shows that Mr. Barnes has not the logical mind required for speaking professionally on aesthetics; yet the views of laymen, among whom we may justly place a pharmacologist, often contain something of value. Of even a layman, however, readers demand that he work over and clarify his writings though his views may be unprofessional and expressed without the professional architectonic. Mr. Barnes has not recognized this demand. To illustrate his lack of clarity it is sufficient to quote from a section in which he is considering what he calls the nature of form: "Whenever we use the word form we mean that matter is organized into a distinctive entity; but the matter organized may be itself form in relation to other matter." In the preceding pages the word *form* had been given epistemological meaning; here it is intended to have a different meaning. The quoted sentence is an awkward attempt to say that the word *form* connotes parts organized into a whole, though the parts may be considered as wholes and also have parts.

In the section, *Quality in Painting*, Mr. Barnes writes at length on the elusive, "indescribable something," "which defies analysis and for the recognition of which no rules are adequate" (p. 68). He hesitantly calls this thing, "which must be felt, and cannot simply be thought" (p. 70), *quality*. After leading the reader to believe in the futility of the intellectual pursuit of quality, he ends this section with a surprise for the reader: "Quality in painting is merely another name for the successful use of the plastic means and what these plastic means are can be objectively demonstrated. The degree of quality fixes the artist's rank."

Book I shows Mr. Barnes impatiently expressing his vague notions on aesthetics in pseudo-philosophic manner. He writes like one uncomfortably self-conscious and dissatisfied with his results. In Book II he is a little more at ease. Here he endeavors to define certain elements in painting: color, line (drawing), and space (composition).

The chapter on color is systematically organized. First, color is considered simply as sensuous material. It may be bright, dry, juicy, and have *quality*. Next, color is considered in relation to light; their combination is called atmosphere. This, Mr. Barnes goes on to say, is at its best when golden, as in Claude, or when golden with an admixture of rose, as in the Venetians, or silver, as in Corot; but it is poor in Whistler, where atmosphere is imitated, and also poor in Turner, where the atmosphere is melodramatic and pseudo-romantic. Then, color is discussed in relation to solidity. Finally, there is a consideration of color design, which must be distinguishable from, yet perfectly merged in, the plastic form. Both *plastic* and *form* have been so bandied about by this time that the reader does not greatly concern himself about their precise meanings.

In the chapter on drawing Mr. Barnes considers the problem of drawing and then interprets the drawings of no less than forty artists. This chronological study starts off with the amazing and unqualified statement: "Painting developed out of mosaics" (p. 118). More than once Mr. Barnes emphasizes this point, and he agrees with the most naive of school boys in thinking of Cimabue as the father of painting.

The last chapter in Book II deals with composition. It is organized like that on color. The author first describes what he believes to be the ideal composition and then discusses the development from bilateral symmetry to space composition.

Books III, IV, and V deal with the use of color, line, and mass. They are intended to illustrate the true method of enjoying pictures, which amounts to the dissection of paintings for the particular use of line, color, light, and design in each. In this section Mr. Barnes is clearer; he is in possession of more facts; and he is enthusiastic in arriving at the easier part of his task.

In writing on the Italian painters, he postulates Giotto as the greatest artist of all times. After much eulogy he undertakes to defend, or rather to illustrate, Giotto's paramount position by two series of frescoes. Oddly enough, one of these series is the much disputed cycle in the upper church of St. Francis at Assisi, which may not be by Giotto at all, and Mr. Barnes' description and analysis of it suggest anyone but that master. Fra Angelico he describes as "a good example of how technical skill can be combined with lack of the ability to use it to produce a distinctive plastic form" (p. 153). Botticelli is "mediocre because his means are limited" (p. 156). Michelangelo is "a great illustrator" (p. 159). Like "Leonardo, Raphael relied upon the relatively trivial, adventitious, and literary" (p. 165).

Book III contains a series of twelve chapters on artists and art movements. The artists, like school boys, have been rated: each seems to have a definite place in Mr. Barnes' percentage scale. Giotto heads the class with one hundred per cent on every point, drawing, color, and mass. In this book the author is consistently dogmatic and tutor-like. In Books IV and V Mr. Barnes discusses his favorites: Renoir, Cézanne, Matisse, Picasso, Pascin, Degas, Soutine, Modigliani, Manet, Puvis de Chavannes. I have tried to name these in the order of his estimate of them.

The appendix is an amusing part of the book, extending over some 170 pages. In this section a number of contemporary writers on art are given a deal of publicity in the form of hostile criticism. Two or three excerpts will serve to illustrate the prejudiced, undiscriminating nature of this criticism: "Professor Mather in his *History of Italian Painting* combines the academician's error plentifully with the most elementary of all mistakes, that of interpreting paintings by their subject-matter." "It would be difficult to find, outside of the writings of Elie Faure, or his follower, Walter Pach, anything 'softer' than that jumble of rhetorical irrelevancies" (p. 360). "The most influential contemporary writer on art is probably Mr. Bernard Berenson; his views embody most of the characteristics of academicism and irrelevant sentimentalism" (p. 366). Several pages continue the attack in a determined effort to prove Berenson's ignorance.

Another part of the appendix is given over to the analysis of paintings. This analysis seems to follow some such scheme as Dr. Thomas Munro's outline for picture analysis.

The volume is an interesting record of Mr. Barnes' feeling about some artists. Just as the amateur must not consider too seriously the writings of an Alabama cotton grower on deviated septum operations, so he must not unreservedly absorb this dissertation on art. The reader will admire Mr. Barnes' courage of conviction, he will catch something of the author's enthusiasm for the moderns, and he will enjoy, especially, the abundance of excellent illustrations.

Joseph S. Hauser

TRANSFORMATIONS: CRITICAL AND SPECULATIVE ESSAYS ON ART. By Roger Fry. 4to. 230pp.; 36 pls.; figs. New York, Brentano's, 1926. \$10.

Roger Fry's *Transformations* is one of the most comprehensive books on art written in recent years. Herein lies its strength and its weakness. The author launches into the most varied problems of art history, attacking in turn such questions as *Chinese Art*, the *Seicento*, and *Book Illustration*. As is to be expected, he does not treat all the subjects in a scholarly manner, but his critical sense enables him to give a clear, convincing interpretation and appreciation of most of the subjects he discusses. In this he is greatly aided by his flowing style and his precise use of words. His work has an even more important negative value: it reveals the hypocrisies of the so-called Philistines who are responsible for the production of pseudo-works of art; and it shows us the falseness of the romantic view toward works of art, that has been detrimental to any true enjoyment of them. Finally, his criticism makes the reader examine works more closely, and develop under the author's tutelage a more discriminating aesthetic sensibility.

Fry's thoughts are usually more logical when he can get a starting-point from the precepts of a deeper thinker; without this he too often flounders in the labyrinths of art history. This confusion, that is apparent in many parts of *Transformations*, disappoints us after the clarity and logic of *Vision and Design*, where a thoroughly consistent point of view is held throughout. The fundamental thesis of this earlier book is that the relations of forms (colors, lines, etc.) express the ideas and emotions of life. For example,

in his discussion of El Greco he says, "Since the eye can follow every stroke of the brush, the mind can recover the artist's gesture and almost the movements of his mind. For never was work more perfectly transparent to the idea, never was artist's intention more deliberately and precisely recorded." In *Transformations* this theory that art is an interpretation of man's ideas no longer seems to hold. The author feels a conflict between the idea and the resultant form. Or, as he puts it, there is a conflict between the plastic and the psychological volumes in a work of art. He defines psychological volumes as "the idea of volumes transposed from the domain of space to the domain of spirit." The plastic and psychological volumes when they appear together in intense degrees present a conflict; and enjoyment of either the plastic or the psychological content demands a shift of attention resulting in a different kind of enjoyment, one essentially aesthetic, the other literary. His discussion of El Greco in *Transformations* presents a total change of viewpoint from that expressed in the discussion of the same master in *Vision and Design*. No longer does he believe that our enjoyment of El Greco results from the way the idea has been expressed in paint (in fact, he feels that our age cannot understand that master's emotional implications) but that the plastic enjoyment for us is greater, and if we enjoy the psychological element a new set of experiences is involved. Although the psychological content is legitimate, and the genius of such men as Breughel and Daumier depends on this element, yet it presents a conflict with the plastic volumes, which should be self-contained and enjoyed for their own sake. These theories indicate an acceptance of some of the Cubist ideas, that seek an abstraction in which forms have no relation to known objects but are expressed simply for their own plastic relations and emotional powers. Fry has thus opened, and only opened a very important question, but his ideas about the psychological elements of a work of art are vague, and he does not analyze our emotional reactions to these phases sufficiently well to better our understanding of the problem.

Fry's increase of interest in modern ideas and movements is indicated by the fact that while only a few modern questions had been treated in *Vision and Design*, the principal part of *Transformations* is devoted to contemporary subjects. There are only four essays on earlier subjects in the new book, namely, one on the *Seicento*, one on *Fra Bartolommeo*, one on *Chinese Art*, and a negligible chapter entitled *Speculations in Languedoc*, which is a hodge-podge of Romanesque towers, St.-Sernin of Toulouse, Jean Paul Laurens, and Benjamin Constant.

The chapters on *Fra Bartolommeo* and the *Seicento* are merely springs from the more creative criticisms of Wölfflin, *The Art of the Renaissance*, and *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe*. Fry has taken from Wölfflin his contention for *Fra Bartolommeo*'s religious sincerity, the idea of the painter's treatment of breadth and space, and his debt to Venice; there is even a repetition of Wölfflin's comparison of Filippino Lippi's Virgin Appearing to St. Bernard with *Fra Bartolommeo*'s version of the same subject to show how much commoner Filippino's art is. The second chapter, on the *Seicento*, is for the most part an analysis of Wölfflin's *Kunstgeschichtliche Grundbegriffe* begun in the *Burlington Magazine* of September, 1921. The vital changes brought

about by the Baroque and its culmination in Academism, Sentimentalism, and Impressionism are well discussed. Fry does not agree with Wölfflin that the Baroque is wholly a northern development; he points out the fact that Wölfflin himself uses Bernini and Puget constantly as the only Baroque masters of architecture and sculpture. At any rate, for those who do not read German books, and particularly long books, Fry's essay is a great help.

His chapter on *Chinese Art* is one of the finest in the book. It is a plea to Europeans to taste of the beauties of Chinese art, and an attempt to show that these beauties are not in the least inaccessible to us because their laws of coördination of parts to the whole and their linear rhythms are very like ours. "Chinese art," he writes, "is extremely accessible to the European intelligence, if one approaches it in the same mood of attentive passivity which we cultivate before an Italian masterpiece of the Renaissance, or a Gothic or Romanesque sculpture." This reveals Fry as primarily an aesthete, for he believes that a direct aesthetic reaction to a work of art is of primary importance. Any philosophical implications and historical meanings are secondary to our reactions to what is before us. However, there is a very brilliant discussion of the difference between European anthropocentrism and the Chinese attitude, which never loses sight of the relations of the human being as only a part, and not the center, of the cosmic scheme.

Fry's style is at its best when he is on the warpath. So we find him most brilliant in his chapters on *Art and the State, Culture and Snobbism, Sargent, and London Sculptors and Sculptures*. We could laugh at his humorous and angry attacks on the taste of the English Philistine, on the Commission of Fine Arts, and on the hideous monuments of London, were it not that our own country and our own city is just as badly afflicted. The graphic phrases which he uses could be applied in every instance to our own case. He writes somberly, "We may yet live to see a monument similar to the Nurse Cavell in every square in London, and every building tricked out with the borrowed, and rather ill-borrowed finery, of the Victoria and Albert Museum." But while Daniel Webster still inhales the vapors of the passing motor-cars, and the plaster-cast statues and gilded walls of the Paramount Theater absorb the perfumes and chewing-gum of the American public, it is difficult to laugh at Fry's sarcastic humor.

Then, in this connection, he attacks the false romanticism of the "cultured Englishman" and uses as his prime example Sir Claude Phillips, who has established an appreciation of art which is built up on associative ideas rather than on a direct appreciation that comes right out of an absorption of the actual work before us. This attack on the English plutocrat is a sequel to the invective in *Vision and Design*, where he says that "art was made, bought and sold as an indication of social status."

His best "warpath" chapter is the one on *Sargent*. It is brilliant in its style and content. He writes, "For, just as the man of applied science, having no particular passion for the truth, applies the results of those who have, to some ulterior end, so Sargent knew how to use for his purposes the discoveries of pure art." It is thus that, as it has been put, he has "pricked the Sargent bubble." Housecleaning of this sort is one of our greatest needs. It is the same kind

of housecleaning that Mencken is trying to do when he hammers, hammers at the outworn American conventions. This will pave, or at least may help to pave, the way for a truer American culture, as Fry may pave the way for a more genuine feeling for art.

His chapters on the moderns should have been the most interesting and the most creative and they are the most disappointing. His essays on *Van Gogh, Seurat, Some Modern Drawings, and Plastic Color* gave him ample opportunity to work out the ideas expressed in his first chapter to their logical, or even illogical, conclusions; instead, they are all very summary, contain unrelated suggestions, and add little to the more creative work of Meier-Graefe. His essay on *Van Gogh* is a summary of the fine biography by Meier-Graefe, and is calculated to stimulate an interest in a "life more beautiful than anything it accomplished." To Fry, as to Meier-Graefe, the love of humanity which animates Van Gogh's life and its inability to be expressed or understood is the tragedy of that life. Fry attempts to analyze Van Gogh's paintings (Meier-Graefe hardly does this), but his main point, namely that Van Gogh is essentially a dramatic painter, is taken right out of Meier-Graefe. Fry feels that the elemental character of Van Gogh's work has had a great effect on contemporary art by sweeping away old formulas, but he does not explain this. However, if this chapter stimulates the reader to study Meier-Graefe's exquisite biography, it has, it seems to me, fulfilled its function.

The chapter on *Seurat* also has its undeniable origin in Meier-Graefe—this time in the book on *Modern Art*. Like Meier-Graefe, Fry also shows how Seurat has used the discoveries of the Impressionists. Fry even uses Meier-Graefe's terminology in such phrases as "pure abstraction" and "cool logicality." Such borrowings would have been legitimate had he made something creatively critical out of them.

If I have been unflattering to Fry, it seems to me to be his fault. For his breadth of intelligence and artistic sensibility, which he reveals spasmodically, ought to have made a real addition to creative aesthetic criticism. But in attempting to be student, critic, interpreter, philosopher, and aesthete he has succeeded, except in places, in being none. He has given us neither a creative interpretation of particular artists nor a logical discussion of these artists in the light of any aesthetic theory. However, the book may bring a new zest for art to the casual reader, a result which to-day is worthy of the highest praise. The book is well printed and illustrated and is attractively bound in green with a refined touch of yellow and lavender.

Eleanor Liebman

CHINESE ART. By Roger Fry, Laurence Binyon, A. F. Kendrick, Bernard Rackham, W. Perceval Yetts, Osvald Sirén, W. W. Winkworth. xviii, 62 pp.; 79 pls.; 3 maps. London, Batsford, 1925. (Burlington Magazine Monograph's.)

On the face of it, a series of essays by so distinguished a group of scholars and writers on the subject of Chinese art promises much. In his preface Mr. R. R. Tatlock, editor of the volume, says, "There are, of course, many learned books covering one section or another of the ground we

here attempt to mark out. But no book of the least importance deals with Chinese Art as a whole." Mr. Tatlock is correct in what he says, but not in what he implies. There is no book of much importance which deals with this tremendous subject in a comprehensive way; but then, neither do these essays, despite their paradoxical claim to be an "introductory review."

"The plan of the book," the editor says, "is extremely simple." He might have added that the book is guaranteed capable of being absorbed in a few hours. It is a neatly concocted antipasto of art history intended to stimulate but not to satisfy the appetite. It is not exactly a primer of Chinese art, but it has the principal merit of the best A, B, C books—the pictures are a source of thrilling pleasure. They are well selected, clear examples of the various subjects, and some of them are from extraordinarily fine photographs that have not been published before. The text would have to be fine, indeed, to equal in attraction the picture of a T'ang sculpture or of a Sung bowl. One feels that it would be a great deal more successful with fewer enumerations of complicated Chinese names and more explanations of the ideas that lie behind them.

This last criticism does not apply to Roger Fry's introductory essay. Fry insists upon the accessibility of Chinese art to European appreciation, if it is approached with the same "attentive passivity which we cultivate before an Italian masterpiece of the Renaissance, or a Gothic or Romanesque sculpture." He points out the difficulties for most people in understanding the art of China. Even the subjects are strange to them and evoke no symbolism with which they are familiar. But the rhythms of Chinese art, Roger Fry believes, are not really so strikingly unfamiliar. He performs the interesting experiment of comparing an example of Chinese sculpture with an example of European sculpture. One conclusion he reaches is that the European sculptor takes the cube as the form from which his sculpture derives, while the Chinese conceives of solid forms as derived from the sphere or ovoid.

The rest of the book is devoted to various branches of the art of China, historical essays on paintings, ceramics, textiles, bronzes, sculpture, and a few lines of explanation of some photographs of jade, enamels, and lacquer. By far the best of them all is the article by Osvald Sirén, on sculpture, partly owing to the beauty of the illustrations and to the interest in them as hitherto unpublished documents. Sirén's essay is quite comprehensive, simple, and readily understandable. He presents a condensed exposition of the development of Chinese sculpture and conveys a clear conception of the relationship of Chinese art to that of the peoples around China and to the sources from which it sprang. Sirén does another thing which is even more unusual. He manages to explain to an uninitiated public the manner in which the history of these different periods of art is ascertained. His is not the cut and dried condensation of a routine history of the subject, but he makes his readers feel the thrill of archaeological study and the living quality that is inherent in the finest Chinese art. He explains the sources of our knowledge of the subject and the way in which we can trace the development of succeeding periods in the decorations of the cave temples at Yun

Kang, which were begun in the fifth century A. D. and were continued over a period of several hundred years.

The disquisition on bronzes, by W. Percival Yetts, is an exhaustive study of the origins of this phase of Chinese art. It is a very interesting article, and it far exceeds all the other chapters in heaviness and length. There is rather too much discussion of Chinese inscriptions, for although Chinese painting may have owed its existence to the art of calligraphy in China, as Binyon points out, the subject necessitates an erudite treatment hardly suited to the lightness of the rest of the book.

Of course, the publication under discussion is not really a book. It is probably a mistake to treat it as such. The volume entitled *Chinese Art* is just a collection of magazine articles bound together because they are rather more than vaguely related to each other and have never been published in magazine form. At least one of them, however, that by Roger Fry, has been republished, almost completely unrevised in his *Transformations*. As a whole the book has merits; but the article by Sirén treats the subject of Chinese art as a mass and interprets it far better than does the book taken in its entirety.

Elsa R. Vorhaus

A HISTORY OF ART. By H. B. Cotterill. 2 vols. xv, 1008 pp.; 721 figs. New York, Stokes, 1923-24. \$10 a vol.

HISTORY OF ART. By Elie Faure. Translated from the French by Walter Pach. 4 vols. xlvi, 1654 pp.; illustrations. New York and London, Harper's, 1921-24. \$7.50 a vol.

HISTORY OF ART. By Joseph Pijoan. Translated from the Spanish by Ralph T. Roys. 3 vols. 1724 pp.; 1644 figs.; 167 pls. New York, Harper's, 1927. \$36.50.

ART THROUGH THE AGES. By Helen Gardner. iv, 475 pp.; 132 figs.; 176 pls. New York, Harcourt, Brace & Co., 1926. \$4.00.

It is a question just how many more handbooks of the history of art in English the world requires. In 1921-24 four impressive volumes by Elie Faure on art history "on a new basis" appeared. In 1923-24 two bulky volumes by H. B. Cotterill joined the volumes by Faure. In 1926 Helen Gardner published a history in a single compact volume, and a year later three volumes by Joseph Pijoan were available in English. Many other histories of one sort or another are urging their "unique virtues" on the reader. The craze for universal outlines of history, best represented by that of H. G. Wells, and inaugurated in the field of art with Sir William Orpen's sentimental anecdote, has been the cause of what seems to be much futile repetition and wasted effort: not one of the four histories mentioned combines with unquestionable success trustworthy criticism and scholarly documentation.

In Mr. Cotterill's volumes there are opinions, there is industry, there is a certain amount of efficiency; but we look in vain for the interpretation of art as an inevitable human activity. We find the customary treatment of the customary material that is being included in art history these days. Mr. Cotterill is at home on well-beaten paths, but there is no broad comprehensive insight that unifies

and inspires his work. He seems preoccupied with his plan to assemble his material into two moderate-sized volumes. He says in his preface that he does not wish to crowd out his main object—"to give a general idea of the origins and evolution of European art"—with biographical details and descriptions of unimportant works of art. He does not always remember that desire or else his evaluations are at fault. The illustrations are not in systematic relation to the text; in spite of the 720 illustrations, masterpieces are omitted and much inferior work is included. For example, there are no illustrations of El Greco, and seven of Murillo, who is ranked with Velasquez. There is little discussion of Goya and Ingres. Cotterill says of Goya that he had "high gifts that he used ignobly and in a spirit of bitter satire to reveal brute man." He is forgetting Goya's portraits. Of Watteau he says, "He was a fairly clever stage decorator." Breughel and Chardin are dismissed peremptorily. The author independently prefers Italian Gothic to French Gothic on the grounds of form. He certainly shows an independent mind, but his opinions are as dangerous as no opinions at all. However, there is an excellent chapter on Aegean art, in which there are references to the Mycenaean and Cretan discoveries. There is also a valuable chapter on Byzantine architecture and a serious analysis of the origin of Romanesque architecture. The chapters on English and oriental art adequately, if uninspiringly, cover their periods. In the chapters on the moderns the author's condescending attitude would lead us to suppose that there has been no great art since the death of the classic tradition at the end of the nineteenth century. In dealing with Italy and with architecture Cotterill is at his best. In other fields we can admire his industry only, for his thought is not stimulating, his opinions are impetuous, and his style undistinguished.

And now we come to one who is stimulating in his thought and distinguished in his style, who has nevertheless failed to write *the* history of art. Elie Faure says in his preface to his volume on ancient art: "Art history should be understood as a symphony. We must try, especially, to restore the unbroken germination of nascent forces, engendered by the ceaseless play of the forces of the past on the forces of the present." And later he says: "The historian should be partial. The historian who calls himself a scientist simply utters a piece of folly." We have, then, four volumes of interpretation, reconstructing the art of all ages as a vital expression of life. This is a folk history that has been called a "plastic poem." There is enthusiasm and prejudice, and certainly narrative power. Students will appreciate the synoptic tables. Yet the work falls short because there is too much of the orator in Faure. We are too much preoccupied with his images to follow his thoughts—and he is too. There are too many literary digressions that add nothing to the folk or art history. His style is his strength and his weakness. It is his reconstructive, imaginative style that gives so vivid an illusion of the ancient world and arouses a curiosity as to the origin of ideas. We must acknowledge, also, his excellent illustrations, his prodigious if hasty industry, and his subjective insight into the art of all times. Fact, intuition, and imagination unite and do as well with Peter Breughel as with Michelangelo. It is a pity that Elie Faure wrote quite so well.

Professor Pijoan, who published the Spanish edition of his history of art some fifteen years ago, can still say in the preface to the English edition that "the need for an amply illustrated manual covering the entire range of the subject has been widely voiced, and the present work is an attempt to satisfy this need." The three volumes cover ancient, mediæval, and modern art. Much attention is given to the minor arts, which are amply illustrated. The first volume, in spite of its thoroughness and lucidity, is uninspired. Pijoan is, quite naturally, partial to Spanish art. He does full justice to Altamira. Egypt, Persia, and Asia Minor are but slightly touched. Greek and Roman art are treated adequately, if conventionally. The section on Minoan and Mycenaean art is both meager and out of date, but there is good material on Mexico and Peru. It is in his second volume that Pijoan is completely at home. The Middle Ages seem to be his enthusiasm. Here his story moves quickly and smoothly; he has opinions and an aesthetic attitude, and as a result we have some fine chapters on Byzantine and Moslem art. His illustrations for the Middle Ages are also unusually complete. Intelligently organized facts and a stimulating critical attitude make his book on modern art also valuable though it falls behind the volume on the Middle Ages. In his introduction he says: "In this age of specialization, it is difficult to write a comprehensive and compact history of art." And one wonders why he *had* to write a history of art, why he did not confine himself to the Middle Ages, instead of wasting time on a mediocre recapitulation of conventional material.

To a public spoilt by the warmth and color and flamboyancy of Elie Faure, and the synthetic sweep of Reinach's *Apollo*, Helen Gardner's history, though better than either, may, at first, seem laborious, old-fashioned, perhaps, even "archaeological." The reason for that lies partly in the monotony of her attack, partly in her academic style, partly in the unattractiveness of the print and in the crowding of the illustrations, but mostly in the colorlessness of her opinions. She is painstaking, unusually efficient as an organizer, but she has neither passions nor prejudices, and therefore her history is unimpressive. She has successfully sifted libraries into one volume, but she emphasizes no point of view of her own which transcends all times and unifies all arts. However, it is no small achievement to organize the artistic deposits from the East, the Greeks, the Romans, the English, the French, the aboriginal Americans, and even the moderns to an extent, with any thoroughness. She seems at her best in Egypt, India, and China, where her authorities have apparently had a sense of the philosophy behind the rise and fall of a civilization. In treating the Renaissance, she lapses into description of works. In her proportion, she sometimes shows poor judgment or uneven scholarship. She gives less than eighteen pages to the whole of Dutch and Flemish art, four pages to English painting, nine pages to French painting from Poussin to Cezanne, four pages to the fourth century in Greece, and six pages to all of American sculpture and painting, whereas she gives forty-one pages to Egypt. Nevertheless, she has made a distinct progress over *Apollo*. She stresses the design, the color, the rhythm. She avoids familiar anecdotes, and, except in her treatment of the Renaissance, an excessive use of

literary interpretation. There is also a conscious effort to present the artist in a "social" setting. At the beginning of every chapter some pages are devoted to the historical background, but her excessive efficiency becomes tedious. One knows too well how the chapters will begin, move, and end. It smells too much of the classroom, even for the student who is fed only a chapter at a time. For its bibliography, its appendix and glossary, its illustrations, as a handbook that is scholarly in its attitude and comprehensive in its scope, it deserves a place in any school library. But why has Miss Gardner kept her personality so persistently in the background?

Reinach's *Apollo* fell to students for a whole generation. Illustrations of a few popular classics and some perfunctory criticism sufficed for that generation. But in recent years interest in art and art history has grown tremendously and has enlisted converts of all ages. *Apollo* was as good a handbook as any other for the fields it covers. This generation wants something more than a handbook, something more than an introduction to art. When so many histories are being written, is it too much to expect one that shows at once industry, scholarship, psychological intuition, reliant criticism, and personality?

Gertrude Ackerman Rothschild

MODERN COLOR. By Carl Gordon Cutler and Stephen C. Pepper. 163 pp.; 5 figs. Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1923. \$2.00.

It is vitally important that a painter know his palette as a musician knows his instrument. Cutler and Pepper protest that it must not be imagined that a color scale is anything like a musical scale. This disclaimer is intelligible as a tardy reaction in Boston against the solecisms of Whistler. But the fact remains that the color scale must be firmly fixed, however subconsciously, in the artist's mind and that he must paint in harmonies and combine his tones in a way closely parallel to that of the musician. The chief difference in principle is that the painter in setting up his palette and mixing tones on it is forever making a new instrument, while the musician repeatedly uses the old one. For learning to make the painter's instrument the convenient outline by Cutler and Pepper will prove an aid. Although fundamentally sound in the theory of color, the book is hardly adequate to teach the beginner how to get the various tones which, working together, will give objects a pictorial existence on his canvas and how to duplicate with approximate exactness a desired tone. The author's chart, based on the principle of complementary color, is in the main that generally used by experienced artists. One advantage they claim for it, "that it can be accurately and easily derived mechanically," is questionable. One is reminded of the girl who, measured the lines of her poem with a certain little stick. In the third and fourth chapters the authors discuss at length the painting of disks and spinning them on tops to find the right tones. "As each of these colors is spun up in the proportions stated, it is matched as nearly as possible in pigment, and the cardboard slip of the proper number is painted with that pigment." Admittedly, "in some cases there will be certain discrepancies, the spun colors being on the whole a little more saturated than the

nearest attainable pigment mixture. . . . Some mixtures we get on the wheel cannot be exactly copied in oil." The advantage of so much work spinning disks seems slight. After all, these are experiments which could better be worked out on the palette. Further than the relation of colors to their opposites and neighbors, mechanical means explain little. Color, like music, is felt.

The authors seem to be belated impressionists in their emphasis on "the painting of light accurately, how to get exactly the right high light, exactly the correct shadow. . . . For the whole purpose of this technique is to show the artist a method of getting into his picture a feeling of light." They evidently agree with Monet "that the greatest person in the picture is the light." Again the authors say, "The advantage a student may derive from this technique is that he will be able to paint an object with exactly the same colors the object has in real existence." But does the artist often wish to paint an object exactly as it is in nature? It is certainly impossible to follow nature exactly throughout the composition. A painting must always be a compromise with nature. How often the artist has found that one tone which is true to nature when placed by another tone in the picture loses all its power and is entirely out of harmony with the whole.

The authors discuss at considerable length the phenomena of reflection and absorption of color. The modern tendency is to insist on painting things rather than phenomena. The Dutch masters painted beautifully lighted objects, but not the phenomena of light. High lights and shadows in themselves are not to be considered the things to be painted. Only when they can be used to give a sense of existence to the objects is the artist to use them; otherwise he may disregard them. The most forcible and life-like drawing often has the richest dark where the high light really is seen.

Modern color has its place in presenting some interesting facts about the theory of color which are fundamentally important to the student. But a book which would help a student to set up his palette, in other words, to paint his picture first on his palette, would meet a greater need.

Virginia B. Gresham

THE NATURE, PRACTICE AND HISTORY OF ART. By H. Van Buren Magonigle. xx, 319 pp.; 128 figs. New York, Charles Scribner's Sons, 1924.

Considering the number of art histories that have been written, are being written, and will be written, Mr. Magonigle would seem to have had little ground for the fear expressed in his preface that "the young men and women in high school and college were growing up in virtual ignorance of art as art, as a source of pleasure. . . ." But his own book is intended for the laity as well as for students. His ambition was to make it sufficiently short and interesting that it "might have a fair chance of being read through without too much skipping." One special merit he claims for it is that it "is written by a practitioner, from the inside, as it were."

The first section of the book is intended to give the reader some idea of the nature and practice of art as a preparation for the study of its historical relations. There is a rapid

survey of the techniques of architecture, sculpture, and painting; and there are brief explanations of the techniques of fresco, distemper, water-color, miniatures, monotypes, pastels, etchings, steel and wood engravings, copperplate, mezzotint, Japanese prints, linoleum block prints, and lithography.

Mr. Magonigle gives the Egyptians credit for the discovery of broken color; but nowhere is his statement adequately supported. The invention of oil painting is unreservedly placed at about the beginning of the fifteenth century, though it is common knowledge that oil painting is mentioned in the manuscripts of Theophilus and Heraclius. After speaking of the reputedly naturalistic paintings of Apelles and Zeuxis, it seems inconsistent to say, as our author does, that Ciambue was the first who dared look at nature.

As Mr. Magonigle approaches his subject proper, he abandons the use of technical terminology and distracts the reader with flowery verbosity and endless superfluity. The matter is taken up in strictly chronological order; and the treatment of the social, political, and economic background is quite adequate and admittedly vivid. But the book is practically all background, with insufficient reference to specific works of art, which are used merely to add flavor to the historical account. In the chapter entitled "Before the Curtain," Mr. Magonigle has disposed of three whole peoples, the Egyptians, the Babylonians, and the Assyrians in the space of two pages. He is more merciful to the Greeks and grants them three florid and highly embellished chapters corresponding to three periods, pre-Periclean, Periclean, and Alexandrian. Only one short paragraph is devoted to Phidias, and a few meager lines give honor to Praxiteles, Myron, Scopas, and Lysippus. Objection must be made to the usual but fallacious emphasis on the decline of Greek art after Alexander. Although during this period Hellenistic art underwent a complete transformation, it cannot be described as decadence; for amidst the changes were born and developed new elements, the destined heritage of modern art. Genre sculpture had scarcely existed, but the Alexandrians developed it. Hellenistic artists taught the world the art of landscape. Rural scenes made their appearance, not only in painting, but in statuary and bas-reliefs; and the period that witnessed these interesting innovations is one of the great epochs of the human mind.

Roman art suffers insidious amputations. There is scarcely anything of significance in the short chapter except the rather indefinite statement that the Romans possessed a keener constructive sense than the Greeks.

Two chapters are devoted to the Middle Ages. Although the author is fairly successful in linking up the political, economic, and social facts, he fails to show the subtle changes from one art to another. He treats the Byzantine, Romanesque, and Gothic movements as separate entities and seems not to perceive the continuity of mediaeval art. He should have noted that the evolution that gave birth to Romanesque and Gothic owed much to the traditions of Northern Europe and of the Near East and that the Graeco-Roman element became fainter and fainter until it almost disappeared in Gothic architecture. It was not the development but the gradual elimination of Graeco-Roman principles under the dual influence of

Asiatic and Byzantine art on the one hand, and of the barbaric temperament on the other. The underlying principles of Gothic architecture are treated in a very effective paragraph, refreshingly concrete in character.

The chapters on the Renaissance are, like most of the book, very sketchy. Michelangelo is barely allowed to outrank Bramante as the leading figure of the Renaissance. Botticelli, the Bellini, Carpaccio, Giorgione, Tintoretto and Veronese are dismissed with scarcely more than honorable mention. And so, as one of the chapters is labeled, "The Renaissance Passes from Italy."

In the next chapter, Magonigle continues his wholesale treatment, dispatching the French, Spaniards, Flemish, and Dutch with brief characterizations of a few important artists, like Rubens, Velasquez, Rembrandt, and the Van Eycks. The reference to "the contorted crudities of El Greco" makes one skeptical of the author's judgment and imagination. English art comes out fairly well, but it is American art that is the victim of the author's final stroke, brief even if tortuous—in two lines the victim's struggle is at an end.

The most original idea of the book is Magonigle's explanation of the subject matter of Greek art. "In architecture and sculpture the character of the scanty vegetation of the land, the few floral forms at the command of the artist exerted their powerful but unconscious influence; he was thrown back on the human figure, the vine, the olive, the laurel, the honeysuckle, the leaves of the acanthus growing wild at the bases of the hills." Mr. Magonigle was evidently not struck with an inconsistency. The artist of Islam, living in a region of much more scanty vegetation, was not noticeably thrown back upon the human figure and the available plant forms; while the artist of India, living in a region of tropical vegetation, is very partial to the human figure.

If it was Mr. Magonigle's desire to make a real contribution, as he implies in his preface, that desire is yet to be fulfilled.

Meyer Rosenblatt

THE JOYOUS FRIAR. By A. J. Anderson. *xii, 315 pp.; 9 pls. New York, Frederick A. Stokes Co., 1927. \$3.00*

The fascination of the Renaissance lies in its striking personalities, who readily lend themselves to hero worship, but only a few of the great, like Leonardo da Vinci in Dmitri Merejkowski's novel, have been the subject of romantic description. Fra Filippo Lippi has been portrayed in poetry by Browning, and in 1909 Mr. A. J. Anderson introduced him as a character of English fiction in his *Romance of Fra Filippo Lippi*.

Recently Anderson has rewritten his book, claiming "the same artistic right that is conceded to the painter, who has always been allowed to paint a new version of a theme which he has already rendered." In *The Joyous Friar* he has written a biographical novel on Fra Filippo which he believes is more strictly in accordance with psychology and fact. He has not only offered more reasonable explanations for the actions of his principal characters but he has also taken the opportunity to combat several arguments expounded by other writers on the same subject. In an appendix devoted to the historical basis of

The Joyous Friar the author casts miscellaneous aspersions on Vasari, Louis Gilett, and E. C. Strutt. The first he considers a garrulous fool who believed all the old chestnuts stuffed down him by the idlers at the local inns. Gilett, the author of the account of Fra Filippo in the *Catholic Encyclopedia* is looked upon as a most unreliable historian and a man definitely hostile to the friar. The third, E. C. Strutt, who wrote a biography of Fra Filippo Lippi, Anderson regards as unsympathetic and unjust. Strutt dares to believe that Fra Filippo was guilty of not paying his debts, that Lucrezia fled herself back to the convent for the very material purpose of obtaining substantial and regular meals which had not been forthcoming at her lover's house, and that Fra Filippo never availed himself of the papal dispensation to marry Lucrezia, but preferred to retain the power of living after his own fashion and of indulging his love of pleasure as might seem good to him.

His *Romance of Fra Filippo Lippi* did not satisfy Anderson, who has evidently been troubled because his desire to justify Fra Filippo was stronger than the arguments advanced for the Friar's conduct. In that book, after abducting Lucrezia from the Convent of S. Margherita, Fra Filippo repeated the act by persuading her sister Spinetta to leave the same convent, in order that his mistress might have company while he was absent. Spinetta's willingness to leave the convent and to bring scandal on herself was, however, a sort of forced and unnatural martyrdom. Furthermore, the author failed to offer convincing explanation of Lucrezia's warm reception upon her return to the convent after Filippino's birth. Her repentance and desire for absolution were hardly adequate as a reason for the willingness on the part of the good sisters to receive her. Finally, Mr. Anderson allowed the pope to release Fra Filippo and Lucrezia from their vows and to give his blessing on their union for no other reason than to retain the friar as a church artist and to please Carlo de'Medici, who brought the appeal to him.

In *The Joyous Friar*, Mr. Anderson has thought out very convincing explanations for the salient points in the plot of the first book. Now he attributes Lucrezia's departure from the convent to unpleasantness there due to the tyranny of a temporary abbess. This unpleasantness also accounts for the breaking of enclosure by four other nuns, including Spinetta. This seems a much more reasonable explanation of her departure, as Fra Filippo could hardly have abducted the lot. The return of all five to the convent several years later is made reasonable by the installation of a new abbess, and more particularly in Lucrezia's case by the presumption that her association with Fra Filippo was still unknown. The reason for the papal grant of the dispensation is explained by a very proper desire to lay the scandal for the sake of the church and especially of the Convent of S. Margherita.

The consideration of his literary style, aside from the technical points in the plot, shows the author to be less capable. He realizes that he has to supply a proper quattrocento background but he has not the subtlety required to produce an unobtrusive stage setting. His method of having Lucrezia recite wholesale quotations from Dante while she acts as Fra Filippo's model, and of introducing the songs of a minstrel with every meal the friar eats in a tavern is ineffective and obvious. The action is thwarted and the reader is jolted from the smooth

running of the plot. Another example of the author's method of scene painting is the description of a carnival procession which the nuns are permitted to watch from their convent windows. The carnival has no bearing on the action, and such an interruption makes the reader want to help push the plot along as one would a toboggan that has hit a bare spot.

The humor suffers from the same conscious effort. For example, the author recounts the Vasari anecdote about Fra Angelico mixing his pigments with prayers, and states in a very flat way that Fra Filippo, on the contrary, mixes his with fig sap and the white of eggs. This story loses what humor it has by repetition later on in the novel, which robs it of force and spontaneity. Unintended humor appears now and then, however, and one may smile at such unconscious bits as this: "As Fra Filippo entered the dining room of this inn . . . one called him from the right and one called him from the left and another . . . called him loudly."

The style is labored throughout. It is the work of a man not accustomed to the writing of novels. His plot is good and his refutations of Strutt's deductions are, for the most part, reasonable. It is with the form that one takes issue. Anderson lets his partisanship for Fra Filippo degenerate into sentimentality. The book would have gained in distinction had he chosen a conventional biographical form as the vehicle of his ideas.

Josephine Purtscher

LA MINIATURE BYZANTINE. By Jean Ebersolt. xiii, 110 pp.; 62 pls. Paris, Van Oest, 1926

To students of Byzantine art, Ebersolt's *La miniature byzantine* will be a great convenience. The author is not a specialist in the field of illuminated manuscripts. Rather, his interest was attracted to miniature painting by his work in other branches of Byzantine art, his previous publications being such books as *Saint-Sophie de Constantinople*, *Les églises de Constantinople*, and *Les arts somptuaires de Byzance*.

The present book is very general in its discussion of the manuscripts, offering little more than a description of their contents. Even this is given in an abbreviated form, for very seldom is more than a page and a half devoted to one manuscript. No attempt is made to trace the iconography of the miniatures and thereby arrive at a probable provenance for the manuscripts. The datings are given in general chapter headings only, or are contained in the series of bibliographical notes which are appended to the text. These notes, however, do not define the style of the manuscripts under discussion and consequently the dates given are not always convincing. For instance, the miniatures of the Paris Psalter are not dissociated from their tenth century text. No attention is given to the indications of an earlier date which a study of their style reveals; nothing is said of their interesting relation to the frescoes of S. Maria Antiqua (cf. *The Art Bulletin* VII, 4, pp. 145 ff.). Likewise, the full page miniatures of the Rabula Gospel are dated in the tenth or eleventh century on evidence that is not very satisfactory. Ebersolt claims that the parchment used for these miniatures is not the same as that used in the text, but gives no

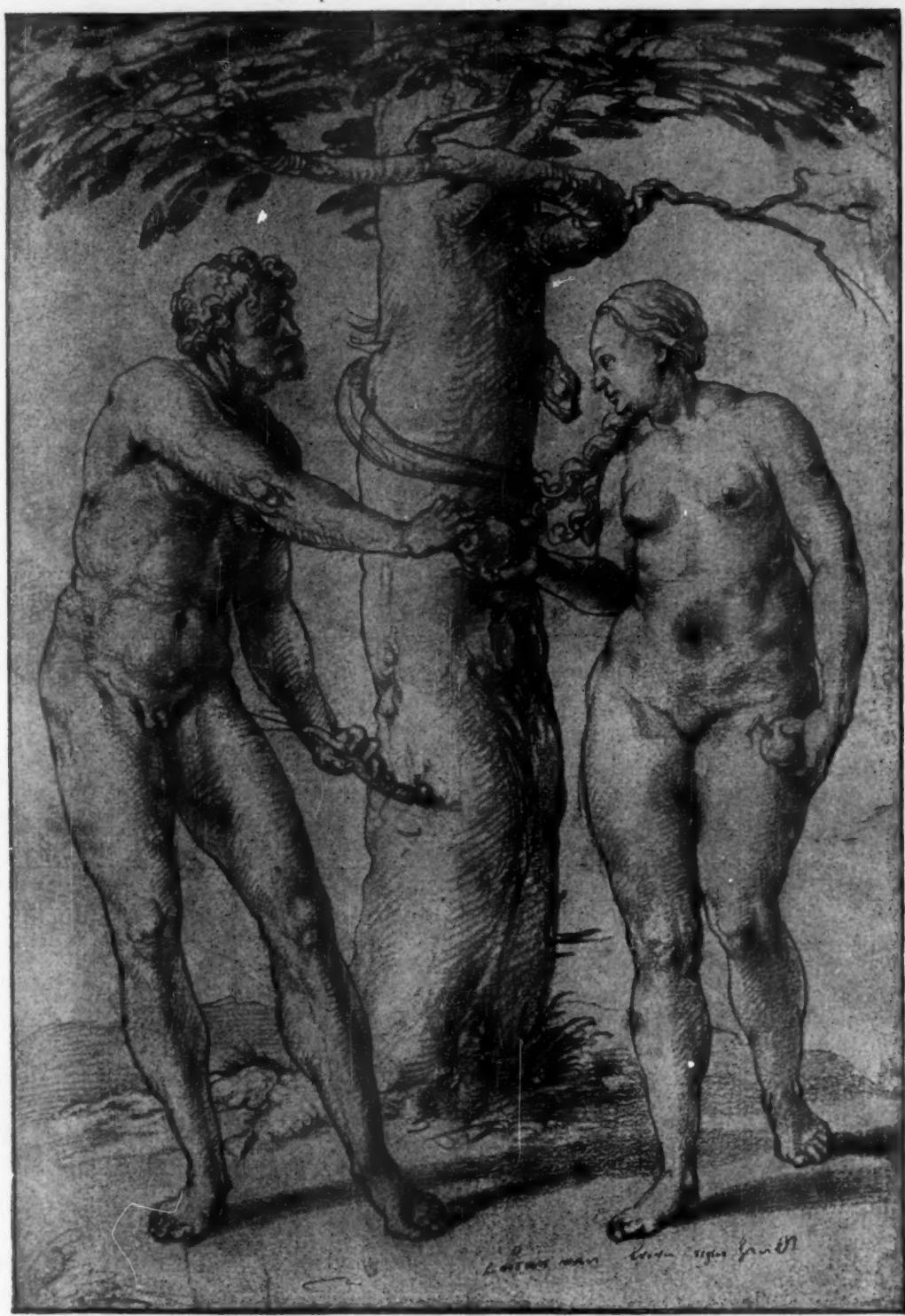


FIG. 1—Hamburg, Kunsthalle: *Adam and Eve*, by Lucas van Leyden



FIG. 2—Hamburg, Kunsthalle: *Avenue of Trees*, by Rembrandt



FIG. 3—Hamburg, Kunsthalle: *Cock Fight*, by Hondecoeter

arguments based on the style of the miniatures themselves to uphold his contention for such a late date. Others, however, find the parchment to be the same in both cases, and in view of resemblances in style between these miniatures and those in the main body of the text, there is no convincing argument left for advancing their date much beyond the traditional one for the rest of the manuscript of 586 A. D.

One particular aspect of Byzantine illumination emphasized by Ebersolt is the development of ornament, to which nearly half of the text is devoted. The use of geometric designs, architectural forms, flowers, and beasts in the embellishment of title and in the miniatures themselves are pointed out and traced through the four periods into which Ebersolt divides the subject. Within this chronological grouping, however, there is little subclassification either chronological or geographical.

The book is very readable, and the plates are excellent and well chosen. Because of its simplicity it makes a very serviceable handbook for the student who is beginning a study of Byzantine painting. There are few general books dealing with Byzantine illumination, so it is useful to have gathered together between the covers of one book material which would otherwise have to be sought in a great many, and often inaccessible, special publications.

Josephine Purtscher

ZEICHNUNGEN ALTER MEISTER IN DER KUNSTHALLE ZU HAMBURG: NIEDERLÄNDER. By Gustav Pauli. 8 vo.; 12 pp.; 36 pls. in folio. Frankfurt A. M., Prestel-Verlag, 1924.

It is impossible in a review to do justice to the magnificence of the Prestel-Gesellschaft publications. The eighth volume in the series, which is the subject of this review, contains thirty-six reproductions—all faithful to the originals in color, chiaroscuro, and line—of Dutch and Flemish drawings in the Kunsthalle at Hamburg. The plates are accompanied by a text in which each drawing is attributed and briefly described. The small edition (only four hundred copies) is an indication of how many supposed students of art are actually students of art literature rather than of the art itself; for it is publications of this sort that would furnish students of art with the material they need. These reproductions are practically equal to the originals for purposes of study, and even for pure enjoyment: thus, the lover of art as well as the student will find them invaluable. Incidentally, the publication has a special interest to Americans because of the fact that the person responsible for it, Professor Pauli, is to be here next year, teaching at Harvard.

The volume opens with a fragmentary sheet of drawings of a man's head and a tree which was formerly called Italian and is now assigned to Gerard David. The attribution is necessarily a matter of faith, but the drawing itself is fascinating, if evasive. By Lucas van Leyden, a great designer now slowly beginning to be appreciated in America, is the second drawing, which represents Adam and Eve (Fig. 1). Pieter Aertsen's drawing of the Adoration of the Shepherds (no. 3) for a stained glass window furnishes interesting material for the field of seventeenth

century stained glass, a field as yet very imperfectly studied. Even in this sketchy drawing the peculiar character of stained glass design, with contours strongly marked, is suggested. The drawing signed with the monogram of Hendrick van Cleef (no. 4) shows the departed quaintness of old Florence, which is much less familiar to us than is that of old Rome, suggested in the next drawing (by an unknown master, about 1560), of the Choir of St. Peter's during its building (no. 5). This drawing is particularly interesting in showing certain features designed by Bramante that were later torn away.

Two drawings by Rubens on one sheet (no. 6) give his development of a female head from a more naturalistic representation in the less finished sketch to a more ideal, more voluptuous type in the larger, more finished drawing. Van Dyck is represented in an unusual phase by his Kiss of Judas (no. 7). Long diagonally sweeping lines in the figures of Judas and the mob contrast with the vertical lines of the noble Christ and give a sense of excited, fiery emotion to the composition.

There are a few beautiful drawings of still-life subjects among the selection of plates. The suggestiveness of Jan Fyt's drawing of Animals from the Hunt (no. 8) will be more pleasing to some art lovers than his realistic, carefully finished paintings. The drawing of Women at a Fireside (no. 9) by Willem Buytewech is really a study in still-life; it is as good as a museum for the lover of antiques: a multitude of details of interior furnishings of the period are given perfectly definite character without detracting from the general, unified impression of the whole. Esaias van de Velde in a drawing of a country place (no. 10) has done for an exterior what Buytewech's drawing does for an interior.

A Peasants' Card Game in front of a Tavern (no. 11) is hard to accept as a true example of Jan van Goyen, despite the signature, because of the clumsy insistence upon the leafage in the foreground and the caricatured peasant types. It does not seem sensitive enough for this lover of nature. Nos. 12 and 13, village scenes in which peasants again play a prominent part, seem more representative of van Goyen's style.

A very remarkable drawing is the Canal Scene by Moonlight by Aert van der Neer (no. 16). With an appreciation of nature that rivals that of the best modern landscapists the artist has suggested in this little sketch all the elusiveness and fascination of moonlight filtering through trees and shining on water. And the marvelous expressiveness of the figures scattered over a page by Adriaen Brouwer (no. 17) put this artist on a level with Chinese draughtsmen for surety of shorthand methods. Expressiveness in an even higher degree is embodied in the three drawings by Rembrandt, St. Jerome (no. 18), Avenue of Trees (Fig. 2), and Grove at the Entrance to a Farm (no. 20). Although the last of these three cannot as yet be said to represent a canonical attribution, is a good drawing and certainly seems far closer to Rembrandt than the following drawing, of a Farm House Sheltered by Trees (no. 21), which has been attributed to that master by some but is here labeled Abraham Furnerius.

By Jacob A. Backer is a beautiful drawing of a female nude (no. 22), delicately shaded to suggest all the grada-

tions of modeling and the texture of flesh. In strong contrast to this somewhat academic work is Adriaen van Ostade's realistic drawing of Peasants in a Tavern (no. 23); there is no more raciness in his paintings than we get here. And Isaac van Ostade seems the tame counterpart of his brother in the drawing of a Peasant Family (no. 24).

The two landscapes by Aelbert Cuyp (nos. 27 and 28) reveal the breadth of this still generally underrated artist, while a Winter Landscape (no. 29) shows Everdingen in his more intimate phase. A Ruined Castle (no. 30) and a View of the Dunes (no. 31) are worthy examples of Jacob van Ruisdael. In contrast to most of the Dutch scenes the Italian landscape (no. 32) by Jan Hackaert has a

surprisingly theatrical effect, though the great tree in the foreground is as naturalistic and as splendid as the trees of Rousseau.

No one will fail to catch the very modern note in Hondecoeter's Cock Fight (Fig. 3), where the gleaming plumage and the spirited action are clearly suggested by a few lines and splashes of ink. Finally, attention must be called to Frans van Mieris the younger's drawing (no. 36), not only because it has a peculiar subject interest as a portrait of Willem van Mieris, but for its own merits as a character study and as an example of beautiful modeling in light and shade.

John Shapley

